

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

THOMAS MANN

PART 1 OF 1

U.S. Department of Justice



Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Requester:

Enclosed are 95 pages of preprocessed material responsive to your request on Thomas Mann. Excisions have been made to protect information exempt from disclosure pursuant to Title 5, United States Code, Section 552, subsections (b)(1), (b)(7)(C) and (b)(7)(D). Where excisions were made, the appropriate exempting subsections have been cited opposite the deletions. See Form 4-694a, enclosed, for an explanation of these exemptions.

The subject of your request is also indexed in files relating to other individuals, organizations, activities, or general topics. These additional mentions or references have not been reviewed to determine if, in fact, they are identifiable with the subject of your request. Our experience has shown that such references are frequently similar to information contained in the processed main files.

The enclosed documents were reviewed by the Office of Information and Privacy in March of 1994 for an appeal filed by a previous requester. This release incorporates material released as a result of that appeal.

You may submit an appeal from any denial contained herein by writing to the Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Policy (Attention: Office of Information and Privacy), United States Department of Justice, Flag Building, Suite 570, Washington, D.C. 20530, within sixty days from receipt of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

Sincerely yours,

J. Kevin O'Brien, Chief Freedom of Information-Privacy Acts Section Office of Public and Congressional Affairs

Enclosures (2)

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b) (1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified pursuant to such Executive order;
- (b) (2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b) (3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on the issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b) (4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b) (5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b) (6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b) (7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of a record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life of physical safety of any individual;
- (b) (8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b) (9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d) (5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j) (2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals, except records of arrest;
- (k) (1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to Executive Order 12356 in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k) (2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k) (3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k) (4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k) (5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence;
- (k) (6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k) (7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his identity would be held in confidence.

Mr. Tolson Mr. S. A. Tamm, Mr. Clegg. Mr. Glavin Mr. Ladd_ Mr. Nichols Mr. Rosen Mr. Tracy Mr. Carson Mr. Egan, # Lines. Mr. Gurnda Mr. Harbo Mr. Hendon Mr. Pennington MEMORANDUM FOR Mr. Hichols Mr. Quinn Tamm_ Mr. Nease Attached are 30 memoranda on the present numbers of the National Conference on Prevention and Miss Gand Control of Juvenile Delinquency. As you know these people have already been appointed and the names appear on the attached letterhead. Because of the fact that many of the names appearing on the list were very common this project involved the checking of hundreds and hundreds of files. In many cases the names were so common that it was impossible to determine whether or not the data in our files was identical with the individuals on the Conference panel. In a further effort to cut down the project we have checked the names right on the head. For example, in the case of Hubert H. Humphrey we have confined our checking to that entire name and not to Hubert Humphrey or other variations. In the case of Thomas Mann it should be noted that there are approximately 800 references in our files to this individual. The only summary membrandum available included material up to 1941 which only covers about 200 of the references. It is suggested that you advise the Department of this fact and that we do not check the remaining 600 references unless they make a specific request. KHOORDKU DIPLOT I JAN 81 1948

RE: THOMAS MANN

I BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Thomas Mann was born in Germany in 1875. He has received honorary degrees from Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, Yale and other universities. In 1938 he was appointed lecturer at Princeton University. He won the Nobel prize for literature in 1929 and the Cardinal Newman Award in 1937. He is the author of numerous books and has contributed articles to many magazines.

II CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES

Information was received in 1927 that Thomas Mann was a member of the "American Guild for German Cultural Freedom," New York City. It was also reported that the organization was a "racket" because of the fact that Prince Hubertus su Loewenstein and Sara E. Brander were connected with it.

The Bookniga Corporation placed an advertisement of Russian books and periodicals in the October 7, 1936, issue of the National Weeklies newspaper "Heimatbote", Winona, Minnesota, and among the authors' names appearing in the advertisement was that of Thomas Mann.

The Daily Worker dated April 20, 1937, stated that Thomas Mann, distinguished author, had completed a lecture in German on "Wagner and Nietzsche" at the New School for Social Research.

The Daily Worker dated April 25, 1937, carried an article on Thomas Mann, including his photograph, and stated that he had sailed the preceding day on the "Ile de France." It also stated that while in this country, Mann had spoken at the celebration of the University of Exile, a group of German refugees in New York.

In an advertisement of the "Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy", 361 4th Avenue, New York, New York, which appeared in the New York Times dated May 10, 1937, it stated that the Medical Bureau is affiliated to the "North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy" and listed Thomas Mann as a sponsor.

In Deutsches Volks Echo (which is reported to be a German language Communist Weekly) dated November 27, 1937, it was stated that there was a report in German on the American Artist Congress in New York December 17 (which informant said was held under Communist sponsorship although they were careful to hide that sponsorship.) The article stated that Erika Mann, daughter of the Nobel prise winner, Thomas Mann, read a letter from her father at the meeting.

Information was received in 1937 that Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Mann were speakers at a meeting for the German American League for Culture on April 21, 1937, and that about half of the audience were Communists or Communist sympathizers.

HEREN IS UNCLASSING

Archibald McLeish spoke on greetings to Thomas Mann as representative of the League of American Writers.

A folder put out by the New School for Social Research in 1937 advertised lectures by Thomas Mann, a German author.

Information was received in August, 1938, that a book "Coming Victory of Democracy" was a reproduction of the text of the lecture which was delivered by the German writer, Thomas Mann, during his lecture tour in the United States. It was said that the book was extremely Communist in its presentation of the case for Democracy and its continuance as a form of Government.

Information was received from a confidential source that at the mass meeting on September 25, 1938, of the "Save Czechoslovakia Committee," Thomas Mann was one of the speakers. It was stated that it was an enthusiastic meeting strongly radical, and particularly strongly pro-USSR. It was stated that references to Russia were greeted with wild applause as was an announcement of a contribution by a Communist organization. It was also said that the lapel emblems of the "Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion" and the "American Relief Ship for Spain" were very much in evidence. It was also reported that Communistic circulars were distributed at this meeting.

In the Washington Herald dated October 8, 1938, it was said that Thomas Mann, a noted German refugee, was named President of the German American Writers! Association, which had for its purpose *To fight against German propaganda of Nazis in the United States and to preserve true German culture.*

An article, "Childhood Under the Nazis" by Thomas Mann, appeared in the magazine "Nation" for October 29, 1938.

In the Daily Worker dated November 21, 1938, it was stated that Thomas Mann, noted German author and exile, will deliver a series of four lectures at Princeton University.

In an article in the Daily Worker dated November 26, 1938, entitled "The World of the Screen," it was stated that Thomas Mann was on the Advisory Board of "Films for Democracy."

Information was received on December 13, 1938, that Thomas Mann, under date of October 25, 1938, welcomed the formation of the Alliance Book Corporation (Alliance Book Club.)

Information was received in February, 1939, that Thomas and Heinrich Mann were contributors to "Deutsches Volks Echo," 20 Vesey Street, New York, New York.

Information was received in 1939 from a confidential source that Deutscher Weckruf and Beobachter and Free American in the issue of March 23, 1939, had an article in German entitled, "The Disgusting Thomas and his Chaste Joseph," which was a violent attack on Thomas Mann and his book, "Joseph in Egypt."

In the Daily Worker of March 23, 1939, it was stated that Thomas Mann, world renowned writer and recipient of the Nobel prize for literature, yesterday, declared his fervent hope that Saturday's "Stop Hitler Parade" will be a success.

In a circular distributed on March 24, 1939, entitled "Stop Hitler Parade" which was sponsored by "The American Council to Combat Nazi Invasion," 1133 Brooklyn, New York, New York, one of the sponsors was Thomas Mann.

The second secon

A letterhead of the "Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign," 381 4th Avenue, New York, Mew York, dated April 19, 1939, lists Dr. Thomas Mann as a sponsor. This campaign was conducted under the auspices of the "Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy."

The Daily Worker dated May 6, 1939, stated that Julio Alvarez del Vayo, Loyalist Spain's wartime Foreign Minister, spoke at a banquet at the Astor Hotel on Thursday. The article stated that Thomas Mann, famous novelist and German exile, was one of the notables seated at the table with Julio Alvarez del Vayo.

In the Deutsches Volks Echo, which is reported to be a German language Communist controlled weekly, dated July 22, 1939, there was an article entitled, "Intrigues Around Thomas Lann" signed by Franz Dahlem (whom an editorial note describes as the authorized representative of the Communist Farty of Germany.) The article is reported to be a strong plea for a united front and praises the Soviet Union.

Information was received from a confidential informant that the Deutsches Volks Echo of July 27, 1939, carried an article which was an enthusiastic declaration by Thomas Mann on the Soviet Pavilion at the New York World's Fair and on Soviet Policy.

A circular of the "Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign" under the auspices of the "Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy," dated May 11, 1939, listed Dr. Thomas Mann as a sponsor. Another circular of the same origin dated May 3, 1939, listed Dr. Thomas Mann as a speaker at a meeting to be held on May 4, 1939.

An article "We have Learned that Fascism is the Death of Culture Sage the Author of 'The Magic Mountain's, by Thomas Mann, appeared in the Daily Record dated May 20, 1939.

The Daily Worker dated June 2, 1939, carried an article entitled, "Thomas Mann, Dr. Bones, Aragon Sheean, Broun and Langston Hughes among Speakers in Carnegie Hall." It was stated in the article that the speeches were made at the Third American Writers! Congress at Carnegie Hall in New York City.

A letterhead of the "Friends of Democracy, Incorporated," 103 Park Avenue, New York, New York, dated August 31, 1939, lists Thomas Mann as being on the National Executive Committee.

Information was received in December, 1939, that the Volksfront, reportedly a Communist controlled German American weekly, which is the official organ for the German American League for Culture, had an article dealing with the German American Writers' Association and the informant said that this organization was Communist controlled. The article stated that Gerhart Seeger and Julius Epstein, who are German Socialists, brought dissension into the ranks by their charges of Communist control and that the organization's honorary President, Thomas Mann, cleared them of the charges. The informant stated that the charges were justified and that Mann did not know what was going on.

An article entitled, "Catspaws of Communism," by Benjamin Stolberg appeared in the Washington Post, dated December 2, 1939. It was stated in the article that Thomas Mann was a member of the "Committee for Cultural Freedom."

Information was received in 1939 that Thomas Mann was a member of the "Deutche-Amerikanischer Kultur Verband" (German American League for Culture) which was reported to be anti-Hitler.

Information was received in October, 1940, that among the persons mentioned in a pamphlet published by the "League of Fair Play," who were known to have Communistic tendencies, was Erika Mann's father, Thomas Mann.

Information was received in October, 1940, that Dr. Thomas Mann was an officer of the "American Committee for Christian Refugees of Germany, Incorporated."

Information was received in 1940 that one Kurt Reiss-Steinman said that Thomas Mann, the honorary President of the German American Writer's Association, was being constantly deceived and lied to by the Communist crowd because they realized how important it was to keep him as their "front" against attacks. It was said that they pay lip service to him and then go ahead and do as they please.

In a pamphlet entitled, "Democracy's Answer to Hitler," there is contained an address delivered by Thomas Mann at the "United States of the World Dinner" held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City on January 22, 1941, which was held under the auspices of the Federal Union Incorporated and the New York Committee of Federal Union.

The New York Telegram for June 5, 1941, stated that the Fourth American Writer's Congress was a Communist cultural front and had consistently followed the political deviations of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. It

stated that most of the distinguished writers that backed the Writer's Congress have resigned and lists among such distinguished writers Thomas Hann, formerly honorary President. The article stated that at the present its sponsors consist largely of party members, writers for the party publications such as the "New Masses" and active Communist Frent supporters.

Information was received in March, 1941, that Thomas Mann was a member of the Executive Committee of the European P.E.N. Club in America. It was said that several European refugee writers, all openly or clandestinely identified with Communist activities, formed this organization and that it should not be confused with the legitimate American branch of the P.E.N. Club. The informant stated that Mann was not a Communist or a fellow traveler but has permitted himself to be "used" several times in recent years.

On a pamphlet describing "Decision," Thomas Mann is listed as being on the Board of Editorial Advisors. The "Decision" is a magazine which describes itself as "a review of free culture" and "a new type of world cultural review in a distinctly modern tempo. It is not subservient to any political groups or limited by any exclusive ideology."

On page 1996, Volume 3, of the reports of the Special Committee to investigate un-American activities, House of Representatives, it is reported, concerning the Western Writer's Congress Conference held at San Francisco, California, November 13, 1936, the following, "Among those sending greetings to the Congress were Tom Mooney, John Strachey and Thomas Mann, English Communists."

On page 2176, Volume 3, of the reports of the Special Committee to investigate un-American activities, House of Representatives, information is set out in the testimony of J. B. Mathews regarding the Communist origin of the League for Peace and Democracy that "another piece of evidence that bears on that is from the column of Mike Gold in the Daily Worker of January 17, 1934, on page 5 where Mr. Gold says, 'American League against War and Fascism, a united front organization, is affiliated with the International League, headed by Henri Barbusse, Thomas Mann, Roman Rolland, Maxim Gorky and other great spirits.'"

A pamphlet entitled, "Have No Fear" by Thomas Mann was published by the "Hollywood Committee of Fifty-Six," of which Melvin Douglas was Chairman.

A form letter of the "Soviet Russia of Today" on the Soviet Pavilion at the New York World's Fair states that a special edition containing photographs of the exhibit would contain an article by Thomas Mann.

On page 977, Volume 1, of the reports of the Special Committee to investigate un-American activities, House of Representatives, Congressman Starnes (in speaking of Heywood Broun) said, "I notice that he advocates in his column here that at the New York World's Fair that there should be a melting pot parade and that Thomas Mann should lead the parade. Thomas Mann is one of the world's most noted Communists, is he not?" Miss Margaret Kerr, who was testifying before this committee, answered, "He has that reputation."

Information was received that photographs of Thomas Mann and Heinrich Mann appeared on a circular entitled, "Wanted by the Gestapo," which was published by the "Emergency Rescue League."

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Dates

August 21, 1950

Tot

Legal Attache,

Paris, France

From:

Clavi

John Rigar Hogger, Director - Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject:

THOMAS PAUZ MANN

KATHARINA WANN

SECURITY MATTER - C

100-0- 25266 Reference is made to your letter dated august 10, 1950. A RECORDED - 27

INDEXED - 27 of any information of a security nature concerning captioned individuals.

Declassify on:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UP where shown of herwise. 💆

e:Foreign Service Deak (Detached)





THE FOREIGN SERVICE

ITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMERICAN EMBASSY PARIS 8; FRANCE

August 10, 1950

To:

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Director, FRI

From:

40-52918 ND Legal Attache, Paris

Subject:

THOMAS PAUL MANN:

KATHARINA MANN

SECURITY MATTER - C

The Military Permit Officer has requested any information of a security interest in the Bureau files converning: (2)

MANN, Thomas, Paul, American citizen, born in Germany June 6, 1875, holder of U. S. passport # 36078.

MANN, Katharina, American citizen, born in Germany July 24, 1883, holder of U. S. passport # 36123.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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Becords No. IMPERALL CENSORSHIP BERMUJA Regd. No. Date of Mail. Mail No. Ex Serial No. 1100 4.20.41 Bone ĮΤο 240 AMALPI DRIVE PACIFIC PALISADES er LOS MOELLS. CAL. Date of letter Bith sep 1943 (or postmark if letter undated) ed CW.T.L." "G" Lies Rec.) Seen by Allocation of submission slip in addition to: Adviscis: PREVIOUS RECORDS IF RELEVANT LONDON Nav. TRINIDAD Mil. Security & S.E.informed Air ed, held, cond 312119 BILLER t with skip to:-If so, so whom photograph is to be COMMENT Language: COULT ! PROPERL TO FOURD A PROTE GIBBLE CROANIZATION UNDER THE MAKE OF TREES DESTRUCTION AND UNDER THOMAS MARRIE PROTECTION. The letter, which is entirely concerned with the above propose 13 "The undersigned, having just learnt at the recolutions of the A Conference in St.James's Palace, Landon, are convinced that de free-minded Germans, living extelds the German Keich, should immediately unite in a "Free Germany". "Free Sermany" Should identify itself with the resolutions of the Allied Conference and mofer its collaboration in the inter-Allied economic consideraa further particulars o It seems superfluous to us to set furth to yo serming the mosessity of such a unic We affeuld however like to et out that, if you were propared to cover "Free Sermany" with your ... Its preetige would be issociately secured and suitable helpers for eint out that, if you were prop work would be found, and indeed in the U.S.L. de in ingland, so that s personally would not be enddled with work-As exigrents living in Suiteerland, we are mable Egical equivity. All that we can do for the s your attiis should be glad to hear from you as soon as possibly towards our proposal ... A outling from a Swiss manupaper about to Elling of a cetting as property of the ITES PIAISIO, FILES DIVISION DALOULE PADEXED DATE Typist's (or Department) G.D.E. 9-10-41 15th utaile PUBLICATION

May 1942 Vol. 3

MAILLOL, ARISTIDE—Continued

Acropolis that he had to be restrained from embracing it. He returned to France with a strengthened belief in his own approach to

In 1914 Maillol's friendship with the German Count Kessler was exploited by certain newspapers to cause him injury. His studio, near Paris, was destroyed by irate townspeople. Soon, however, the war hysteria died down and Maillol was able to continue his work. In the course of the next year, in spite of the anguish of having his only son in the air force, Maillol began his famous statue for the Cézanne monument, which was completed ten years later. At this stage in his career he had achieved many important works, including La Pensce (1900); Jeune Fille (1906); Flore (1910);

and Pomone (1912).

In 1923, Sheldon Cheney, the American art critic, was regretting how little known Maillol was in the United States. He wrote: "Here, then, is the giant of his own time. He stands, by far, the greatest figure in world sculpture in the period between Impression and Expression sionism, the giant of the period of 'honesty.' In the decade that followed, Maillol's sculpture was rapidly acquired by many great public and was rapidly acquired by many great public and private collections in the United States. One critic stated, apropos of an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (1939), that "... among the men of his time, Maillol stands supreme in his ability to convey a sense of form and its component, physical movement."

In the heating years that followed the First

In the hectic years that followed the First World War, there was a great demand for public monuments in France. Maillol, in spite of his advancing years, kept constantly active. Paradoxically enough, when the Second World War broke out, he was forced to abandon work on a statue to be dedicated to the late Henri Barbusse, radical author of anti-war books. The work, depicting a stabbed woman pros-

trate and struggling, was to serve as an allegory on the extermination of war.

In the summer of 1940, when the Germans were sweeping through northern France, Maille was the same and Paparite was the same and struggling was to serve as an allegory on the externination of war. lol was living in a small house near Banyuls. John Rewald, his biographer, reports that he was living alone. A young woman would come to his studio daily to serve the double purpose of modeling and preparing his meals. On the days she could not come, he would devote his time to Greek drama.

Now, though Maillol has had no connection with politics, he is not permitted to return to his Marly studio near Paris (occupied France), to complete the works he had left unfinished. But in spite of his great age, the sculptor works as before. Critics find his latest bronzes as as before. alive and interesting as his earlier works. When he was seventy-eight he was courageous enough to change his style. After a great deal of experimentation he decided to execute his latest statues from life, making a radical departure from his earlier methods. Thus a more realistic work is expected to evolve.

Because of the lack of plaster, Maillol's son, Lucien, who is an able painter, is scouting the dentists' offices in the vicinity to remedy the situation. Anxious, as ever, to keep busy,

Maillol told John Rewald that "the day I can no longer work I shall be dead."

References

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Art N 40:25 N 1 '41 por

Beaux Arts p2 S 29 '33 por; p1 D 18

'36 por; p1 O 8 '37 il

Christian Sci Mon p9 F 17 '40

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Casson, S. Some Modern Sculpture p3057 1928 World History of Art p906 Cheney, S. 1937 Dictionnaire National des Contemporains New Standard Encyclopedia of Art 1939 Rewald, J. Maillol 1939 Who's Who 1941

MANN, THOMAS (män tö'mäs) June 6, 1875- Author

Address: c/o Alfred A. Knopf, Inc, 501 Madison Ave, New York City; h. 740 Amalfi Dr, Pacific Palisades, Calif.

"I never wished to be a stranger in this world, as it often lies in the nature of a poet to be, but I have tried to give myself to mankind, to society, to the state—insofar as its sphere touches that of culture—to my family, to social life, to friendship, to recreation, to enjoyment. The problems of the conflict between Life and Art, between the world of form and the world of men, have concerned me early and late, and much as I have been called to Art, not to say condemned to it, I have not wished to say concernned to it, I have not wished to consume myself in it, but to be, as far as I could, a human being." These are the words of Thomas Mann, who has been called the "most responsible" of living artists, "the last great European", "the her of Goethe."

Thomas Mann was born in Lübeck, Germany, on June 6, 1875 at exactly midday, when, according to astrologers, the constellations promised a long and happy life, a peaceful death. His father, Heinrich Mann, a Senator from the Hanseatic free city of Lübeck, was also a grain merchant in a business which cele-brated its one hundredth anniversary during Mann's childhood. His mother, Julia (da Silva-Bruhns) Mann, was the daughter of a German planter in Brazil and his Creole wife-"romantic in type . . . and extraordinarily mu-sical." Mann says: "My childhood was happy and protected. I grew up with four brothers and sisters in an elegant town house that my father had built for himself and his own, and I enjoyed a second home in the old family mansion, dating from the eighteenth century, which bore over its rococo gable the words Dominus providebit' [The Lord will provide]. My paternal grandmother lived there alone, and the house today is an object of curiosity as the 'Buddenbrooks House.'"

As a boy Thomas was dreamy, fond of music, enchanted by the gods and legends of Greek antiquity, enchanted by his own imagination. He and his sisters staged dramas before their parents and aunts; he wrote poems, strongly influenced by Storm and Heine; and at school he wrote most of a publication called A Journal of Art, Literature, and Philosophy. believe I was respected and even popular with my comrades," he says, "not only because of my patrician origins, but because of a formal and general mental superiority, which was difficult to define, and which my schoolmates found vaguely attractive, and my teachers found to be the source of disobedience and obstinacy. In an unconscious way this superiority expressed itself in a kind of arrogance, and was the cause of melancholy and even pain, although I never knew how to give a name to it." What he did know was that he hated the discipline and drill forced upon him in school. His happiest days were the four weeks' annual summer holidays in the "formal and carefully tended idyllicism" of a seaside resort.

Those idyllic days stopped when Mann's father died. Thomas was fifteen then. His mother and younger brothers and sisters went to Munich, and Thomas joined them after finto Munich, and Inomas joined them after initishing school in Lübeck. At nineteen he went into a fire insurance office "with the word temporary in my heart." He was already writing short stories, and was reading prodigiously—particularly Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. When two of his stories were published. The stories were published. The stories were published. hauer. When two of his stories were published—Zweimaliger Abschied (Double Departure) (1893) and Gefallen (Fallen) (1894) —he was encouraged enough to quit his job. He attended the University of Munich for a short time, studying history, political economy, and literature, then idled in Rome for a year, where his older brother, Heinrich, was studying painting. There he devoured vast quantiing painting. There he devoured vast quanti-ties of Scandinavian and Russian literature and began work on Buddenbrooks, the chronicle of the decay of a bourgeois family which had certain not entirely coincidental resemblances to his own. During that same year his first long short story. Der Kleine Herr Friedemann (Little Herr Friedemann) appeared in a Berlin monthly; and it was to be republished in 1898 in a collection of his short stories, Der Kleine Herr Friedemann und Andere Novellen.
At the time of writing Buddenbrooks, Mann

At the time of writing Buddenbrooks, Mann says, his attitude toward life was "compact of indolence, bad civic conscience, and the sure and certain feeling of latent powers." Back in Munich, he served as a member of the staff of the witty Simplicissimus until he entered the Army for his year of compulsory military training. He was still in the Army when he received a letter from his publishers asking him if Buddenbrooks could be cut in two. His reply was a categorical no, but they eventually agreed to publish a thousand copies anyway. In the meanwhile he had been released from the Army after three months' service because of an injury to his ankle.

When Buddenbrooks appeared in 1901 it created no sensation, but the thousand copies were sold out in a year, and a cheaper one-



Alfred A. Knopf

THOMAS MANN

volume edition followed. Suddenly everyone was reading the first novel of the twenty-seven-year-old author. "My mail was swollen, money flowed in streams, my picture appeared in the papers, a hundred pens made copy of the product of my secluded hours, the world embraced me amid congratulations and shouts of praise." Eventually more than a million copies of Buddenbrooks were sold in pre-Hitler Germany, and it was to form the basis of Mann's tremendous reputation abroad, although its American edition was not published until 1924.

"When I was young," Mann has said, "I was infatuated with that pessimistic and romantic conception of the universe which sets off against each other life and spirit, sensuality and redemption, and from which are derived some most compelling effects—compelling, and yet, humanly speaking, not quite legitimate, not quite genuine. In short, I was a Wagnerite." Tristan (1903), whose American translation first appeared in the Dial in 1922, is only one of the many short and long stories by Thomas Mann in which the Wagnerian spirit plays a leading role. Marriage in 1905 to Katja Pringsheim, the daughter of a professor at the University of Munich, may have influenced his literary attitude enough to make him tack a happy ending onto the novel Königliche Hoheit (1909) (American edition, Royal Highness [1916]); but even a happy and peaceful family life did not lessen his preoccupation with "the inveterate dilemma of the creative artist in this world." Art and disease, beauty and decay, form a mystic unity in the short symbolic novel, Der Tod in Venedig (1912), whose American edition, Desth in Venice, appeared in 1925 together with Tristan and Tonio Kröger. Of Tonio Kröger (1914) Mann has said: "Here perhaps for the first time I learned to use music to

MANN, THOMAS-Continued

mould my style and form. Here for the first time I grasped the idea of epic prose composition as a thought-texture woven of dif-ferent themes, as a musically related complex -and later, in The Magic Mountain, I made use of it to an even greater extent.

Mann continued his work during the First World War. He was assigned to the category of "Last Resorts" by a sympathetic examining doctor, who admired his art more than his physique, and was never called. But he signed the anti-French manifesto of the ninety-three intellectuals, and during the fall of 1914 he published an essay upholding Germany's en-trance into the War and celebrating Fred-erick the Great's invasion of Silesia. "Germany's full virtue and beauty unfold only in wartime," he announced.

These were not the ideas of the internationalist Heinrich Mann, and the two brothers engaged in bitter quarrels, which continued ever after the War. In Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen (Reflections of an Unpolitical Man), written during the War and published in 1918, these quarrels were reflected. According to Thomas Mann, in this War German "Kultur"—unpolitical, aristocratic, "above reason and above science," not even excluding "blood-savagery"—was locked in mortal struggle with civilization, un-German because of the identity of politics and democracy. "I record my deep conviction that the German people will never be able to love political de-mocracy," he wrote then, ". . . and that the much-decried authoritarian state is the form much-decried authoritarian state is of state most suitable to the German people."

The state of the soul of t He wrote stirringly, too, of "the soul of my race, which expresses itself through me," of the eternal "primitive heroic impulse" which brought about war and without which society would be anemic; he spoke against the domination of reason.

"Today war is a lie and all its works are lies," was, however, Mann's sentiment four years after the Armistice, when he spoke on Gerhart Hauptmann's sixtieth birthday. "Democracy is more truly German than any imperial grand opera," he told the people in this speech, "A Plea for the Republic"; and he warned against the "obscurantism" which he had been preaching not long before. Zauberberg (1924) (American edition, Der Magic Mountain [1927]), a parable of contemporary Europe set in a tuberculosis sanitorium, also represented "the philosophical renunciation of much that I once loved, of many a dangerous sympathy, enchantment, and seduction to which the soul of Europe has been and is still prone . . . a book of leave-taking and pedagogical self-discipline." The idea for this monumental work dated from 1912, when Mann spent several weeks with his wife in a sani-torium at Davos and accumulated "fantastic impressions" which he believed could be used in a humorous short tale concerning "the fascination of death, the triumph of extreme dis-order over a life founded upon order and con-secrated to it." ("I shall never fathom ... why every working idea of mine presents itself to

me in a harmless, simple, practicable light," Mann says.)

By this time there were six Mann children: Erika, Klaus, Heinrich, Angelus (Golo), Monika, Elizabeth, and Michael. There was nothing bohemian about Mann's life. "After all we are not gypsies living in a green wagon, we're respectable people, the family of Consul Kröger." The writer usually emerged from the loneliness of his study only to read aloud to his family from something on which he was working, to listen to his children's youthful literary efforts, to participate in the family delights of gardening, music, concerts, amateur drama. His wife-secretary, impresario, assistant, courier, chauffeur—protected his privacy, protected him from the annoying details of everyday life. There was a town house in Munich, a country summer cottage, automobiles, travel, honors, fame.

Abroad, when German letters were mentioned, Mann's name came automatically to Seldom had the position of a living writer seemed so secure, both within Germany and without. In January 1926 Mann went to Paris at the summons of Henri Lichtenberger and the Carnegie Foundation, later writing his impressions in Pariser Rechenschaft (Paris Reckoning). For a time he wrote the German letters for the American Dial. Finally, in 1929, he received the Nobel Prize for literature. "I should do well to lay the prize . . . at the feet of my country and my countrymen," he said in

his acceptance speech.

At the same time Mann was aware of the growing Nazi menace to his country and his countrymen. Although he had not yet reached his present conclusion that the writer is a lost man "who betrays the things of the spirit by refusing to face and decide for himself the human problem, put, as it is today, in political terms," in many of his speeches and articles he spoke out eloquently against those who preached the doctrines of anti-rationalism, and he warned German youth against "mass drunkenness." In March 1933, after a lecture tour, he left the country for a holiday. Hitler had just come to power, but although Mann's wife is of Jewish descent, he did not dream that he and his family were in danger until his children telephoned him. They warned him not to return because of "bad weather." The next day his family met him at Arosa, and since then only one of the Manns has set foot in Germany. Erika returned to Munich, disguised by smoked glasses, and rescued the unfinished Joseph manuscript which her father had left behind.

The autumn of 1933 found the Mann

family settled provisionally in Zurich. Thomas Mann edited a non-political journal, Standards and Values, and continued working on his Biblical epic, which like The Magic Mountain, had sprung from an unambitious thought—"it might be amusing to attempt, by means of a mythical psychology, a psy-chology of the myth." The German editions of the first two volumes of the trilogy, Joseph and His Brothers (Die Geschichten Jaakobs [1933] and Der Junge Joseph [1934], translated as Tales of Jacob [1934] and Young Joseph [1935]), were allowed to appear in

Nazi Germany, undoubtedly because of Mann's three years of silence regarding the Hitler regime. In order to keep his books from being banned he withdrew his promise to co-operate on the proscribed Die Sammlung (The Anthology), published in Amsterdam by his son, Klaus. "At this time pure, positive, and creative art, serving the higher Germany, is nearer my nature than the polemical," he said. He ignored requests for an anti-Nazi statement during his American visit in 1934. He did not attend the Writers' Congress for the Defense of Culture, although Heinrich took

a leading part in it.

But since 1936, when he at last broke his silence in order to answer the anti-Semitic attacks of a German literary critic, Thomas Mann has minced no words in his opinions of Hitler's Third Reich. When he was deprived of his German citizenship, and the University of Royn removed his near a few mannership. of Bonn removed his name from its records and rescinded his honorary degree, the result was the famous Ein Briefwechsel (Exchange of Letters) (1937). From February to May 1938 he made a coast-to-coast tour of the United States, delivering the lecture later published as Vom Zukunftigen Sieg der Demokratie (The Coming Victory of Democracy) (1938), compared by Clifton Fadiman a to Voltaire's Ecrasons l'Infâme in its importance to its age. Following the betrayal of Czechoslovakia (of which Mann had become a citizen in 1937, although he accepted a post as lecturer at Princeton University the next year), he wrote a "brief, eloquent polemic" against the pro-Nazi British ruling class, entitled Dieser Friede (1748). At last settled in the United States, where he applied for naturalization experses, where he applied for naturalization papers in 1939, he continued to deliver innumerable speeches and to contribute anti-Fascist articles to magazines, especially after the beginning of the Second World War. In This War (1940), particularly, he sought "to understand what drives the German nation as a whole to accept Hitler and his war, and to make clear the tragic doom the author feels will be theirs, win or lose."

For Thomas Mann democracy rests on faith on the essential dignity of man. He believes in property rights and in a good measure of economic individualism, and he shares with José Ortega y Gasset a certain distrust of the "masses," a skepticism as to "the heroism of the underdog"; but the economic welfare of the many must not in his opinion he of the many must not, in his opinion, be sacrificed to that of the few. Van Wyck Brooks ", in urging Mann's election as an honorary corresponding member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, once said: "He is defending the basic ideas of our civilization perhaps more powerfully than any other writer." And there are many others other writer." And there are many others who feel the same way. Mann has been discussed as the ideal President of Germany when the Nazis are defeated.

Yet, as Mann puts it: "I was born to witness in serenity rather than in martyrdom, to bring to the world a message of peace rather than to nourish hatred and bloodshed." And

Thomas Mann, the artist, has continued to concern himself with eternal and universal truths in his novels, removed in time and perspective from the contemporary chaos. This has disappointed a few admirers. With the ap-This has pearance of the third book of his trilogy, Joseph in Aegypten (1936) (Joseph in Egypt [1938]), critics hailed his Joseph series as one of the few masterpieces of our time.

("If I may be permitted a personal opinion,"
Mann himself says, "I believe that Joseph
and His Brothers is my best work.") But for The Beloved Returns: Lotte in Weimar (1940), previously published in Europe as Lotte in Weimar (1939), "a study of Goethe, the artist—a portrayal of the inner life of a and for Die Vertauschten Köpfe (The Transposed Heads [1941]), a genius,' legend of ancient India retold in ironic vein, were reserved the decidedly restrained though reverential praise with which the minor works of a master are greeted.

To most of the democratic world, Thomas

Mann is a literary figure to be approached with reverence and awe bestowed upon no other living man of letters. "Where I am, there is Germany," Mann himself said when he arrived in the United States in 1938; and Bruno Frank, one of his few "intimate acquaintances," once remarked in wonder: "This man bears upon his thin shoulders the entire weight of The German Style." It is true that phrases like "Goethean pompousness", "cloudy and ponderous ado about nothing", "self-consciousness," and "elephantine humor" have sometimes been thrown at him, too, but not with great self-confidence. Mann's importance is not a matter of controversy. Thousands of words can and have been poured out on a single aspect of his technique or philosophy; and those who seek to interpret The Magic Mountain or the Joseph series find themselves writing at almost as great length as the master himself. Mann's love of paradox, dialectics, symbolism, irony-irony which, in his own words, "glances at both sides . . . in no great haste to come to a decision"—are qualities which have developed with the years, but that Mann's concerns have changed very little is evident from a reading of Stories of Three Decades (1936), the rich volume in which his short stories written between 1896 and 1929, including several short novels, are collected. Among his novels Buddenbrooks, Death in Venice, The Magic Mountain, and the Joseph series—also widely separated in time—are still rivals for the title of his masterpiece. The volumes of his collected essays, full of "un-expected comparisons, original approaches, and half mystical generalizations," are perhaps the least read of all his works.

Thomas Mann retired from his Princeton post in June 1940 in order to work on the fourth and last volume of his Joseph series. In March 1941 the Manns went to California to make their home, and there they built a house in the section called Riviera, near Hollywood. In January 1942 Mann joined the staff of the Library of Congress as a consultant in German literature.

MANN, THOMAS—Continued

Mann looks like a businessman—or, as one "disrespectful press photographer" once put it, "like a well-carved, old-fashioned walking stick." He has a narrow face, a prominent nose, a small, neat, close-clipped mustache, and, according to Janet Flanner in the New has no intimate friends—is, according to Miss Flanner, more or less "devoid of interest in flesh-and-blood people. He views them as models rather than as mortals." The theatre and music remain passionate interests, however: he attends symphony concerts, listens to records, plays the piano and violin. His powers of concentration are terrifying, and he "can work anywhere, in any environment." He fills school notebooks slowly, writing in longhand with a patience that might be better described as "restrained nervousness," and averaging no more than forty lines a day. His usual working hours are between 8:30 and 12:00 a. m. After that he is in the habit of lunching and taking a nap followed by a brisk walk before settling down to his correspondence and reading. So well-disciplined is Mann's life, in fact, that he has even scheduled his death. "I have a feeling that I shall die at the same age as my mother, in 1945, Mann said once.

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MARGUERITTE, VICTOR (mar-ge-rēt' vēk-tōr') Dec. 1, 1866—Mar. 23, 1942 French novelist; sensational book, La Garçonne (published as Bachelor Girl in 1923), led to expulsion from Legion of Honor; author of some forty books.

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MARITAIN, JACQUES (ma-rē-tan' zhāk) Nov. 18, 1882- Catholic philosopher; author; educator

Address: h. 30 Fifth Ave, New York City

Jacques Maritain, French philosopher and leader of the "neo-Thomist" or "neo-scholastic" school of contemporary Christian thought, has been described as "a gay ascetic who doesn't smoke during Lent, but always has matches." Fearless, a man with stern convictions and the courage always to follow them, Maritain has never allowed the charge of inconsistency or heterodoxy to make him withhold his opinions. During the Spanish War, although he ostensibly did not take sides, he refused to acknowledge that Franco" was conducting a holy war, and he refuses to give the Vichy Government "credit for the Catholic renaissance in France." He has not hesitated to admit that international Catholic opinion has been "troubled and divided" insofar as political matters have been concerned, but he thinks "that the true and spontaneous opinion of the Catholic masses doesn't always correspond to the opinions expressed in the journals and periodicals."

always correspond to the opinions expressed in the journals and periodicals."

In January 1940, Maritain came to the United States for a lecture and teaching tour, expecting to return in June. Subsequent events made his return impossible, and he remained in the United States. His enforced exile has enriched the philosophy departments of several American universities, notably Princeton and Columbia, to which he was appointed visiting professor. Besides teaching, he has been busy writing and lecturing. He is also one of the chief luminaries and a vice-president of the new Franco-Belgian university started in New York in 1942, the Ecole Libre

des Hautes Etudes.

Jacques Maritain was born on November 18, 1882, the son of Paul and Geneviève (Favre) Maritain. His mother was the daughter of Jules Favre, "militant democrat" and "an orator of preeminent excellence and an advocate of lost causes." Geneviève Favre had been born a Catholic, but when her mother died and her father married a Protestant and left the Catholic Church, Geneviève became a Protestant also. She married her father's former secretary, a lawyer, who "loved Burgundy, the rather slow scholarly and comfortable life... and was astounded at his son's being a philosopher." Jacques was educated, therefore, in "an atmosphere of liberal Protestantism."

At the Sorbonne, dissatisfied with the somewhat skeptical academic philosophy and the materialistic science, Maritain became known as a disciple of the late Henri Bergson. "He bore aloft through the classrooms the revolutionary torch of a passionate socialism and of the philosophy of intuition," his wife re-

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FORM GH Revised September 1941

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

VISA DIVISION

10 (Date) YBI - ONI - MID - USIS - DCR - VD TALLY PJC Name of Alien: Date and Place of Birth: Nationality: Polish. Accompanying Persons: Dates and Flaces of Birth: Frevious residence in United States? 1940 to date. Type of Visa Desired: Immigration. Consulate where Applying: Montresl. Spongors and Interested Persons: MUMP y Land, Thomas, 60, 740 Adalia Drive. Proffic Palicides, Sal., writer, similted from Chechoslovokia 1988, Irlend, (D). Case history: The applicant was born in Polici, and his stir in terming and lived in Paris from 1900 until 1000, when they cannot this country. The applicant's sife, mother, and the cicture are list here, and he has no close relatives someas. College education, no policical satisficies. An author. C-514 Rec: Approved in absence of advers reperte DISTAPPROUCO 11) 4 | 41 WHC. 3017241 40 E13 COPIES DESTROYE Please return the duplicate of this form together with your extracts from any pertinent records in the above NOV 4 1970 metter.) ASEIGNED : JUC DATE: 10-16-41

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October 25, 1941

TO: VISA DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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In connection with the below entitled visa applicant case the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation reflect the following information.

Very truly yours,

CONFIDENTIAL

John Edgar Hoover Director

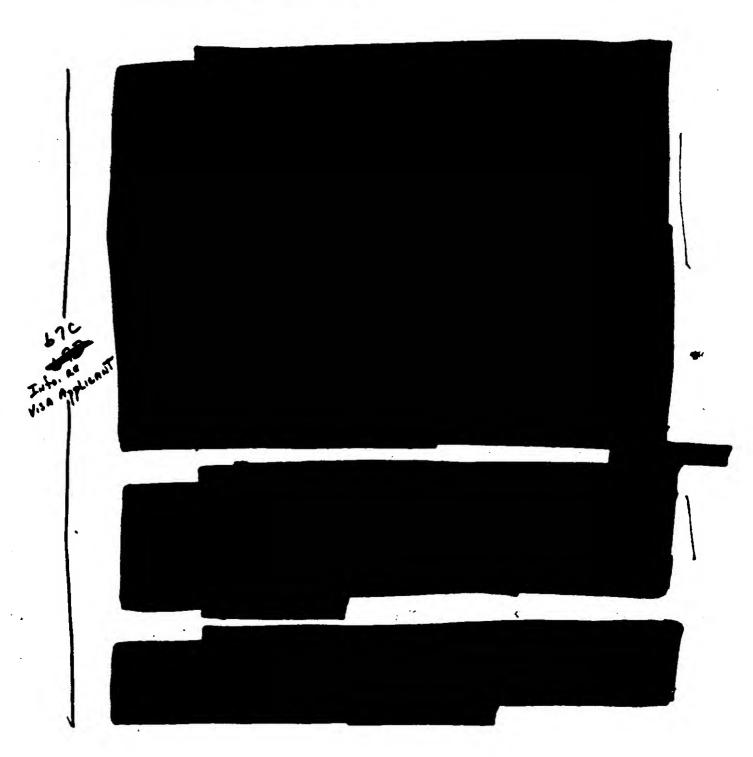
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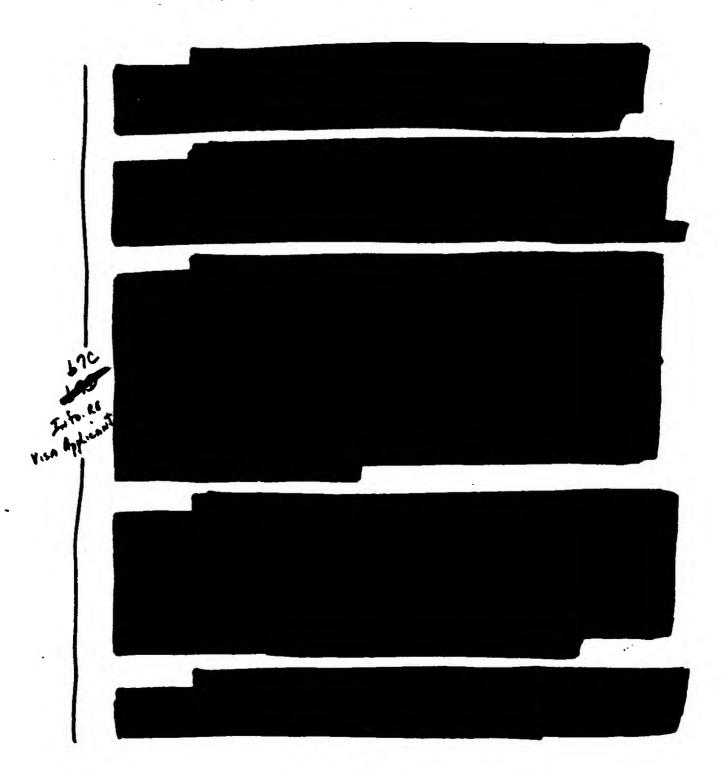


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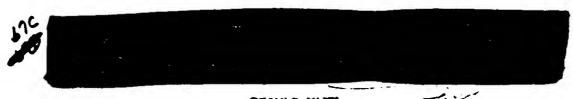
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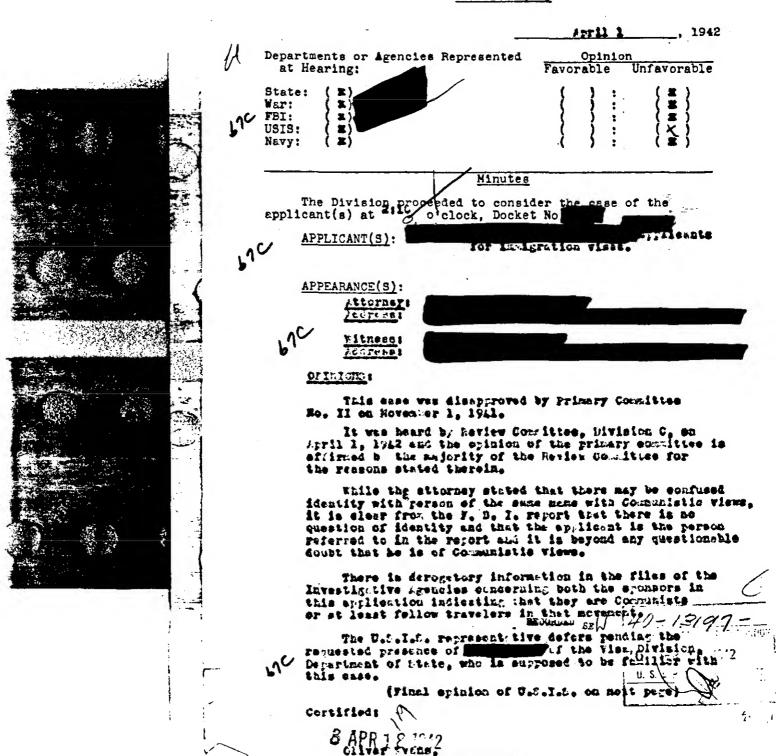
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The duplicate copy of Form OH is being returned herewith.

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INTERDEPARTMENTAL VISA REVIEW COMMITTEE

DIVISION (0)



Iseletant Georgiany.

The U.S.I.S. representative joins in the unanimous disapprovel for the following considerations:

The reason for voting disapproval is based on the contradictory evidence as to whether the applicant is a Communist. The P. B. I. report indicates that he is a Communist; but on the other hand there is evidence to the effect that he is not a Communist, in fact, very well known writers such as and Thomas Kann have written reference letters on the applicants behalf; there are also sworn statements to the effect that he is not a Communist.

But the fact remains that doubt is left in the mind of this representative and therefore he feels compelled to vote disapproval.

Certified:

Oliver Evans, Assistant Secretary,



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

Federal Bureau of Investigation United States Bevartment of Justice

mashington, D. C.

May 5, 1942

APPRAIS BOARDsa Applicant

RECONDED DOFT FILED THE 100

HEREIN IS UICLASSIFIED DATE. 8 9. 83. BY. FOITPA 237446 During the tenure of service of the Appeals Board, consisting I have observed rather closely the decisions of such board, many of which seem to me to be liberal to the point of danger and unable to be justified in view of the present war emergency.

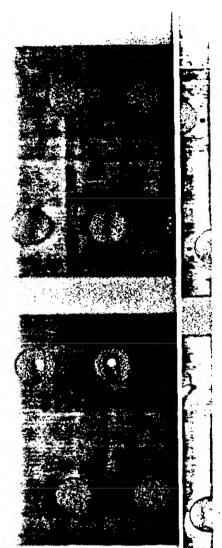
> I wish to bring to your attention the action of the Appeals Board in the case of which I regard as the outstanding example, to date, of the lack of responsibility shown by such board.

The case of applicants for immigration visas, was presented to Primary Committee No. 2 on November 1, 1941, at which time the case was unanimously disapproved. The Buresu had furnished information, from a number of sources, indicating the Communistic background and activities of the applicant and sponsor. Thomas Mann. This case was presented to Review Committee C on April 1, 1942, at which time it was again unanimously disapproved for the reason that the committee, with the exception of the Immigration Serwice representative, concluded that the applicant unquestionably was Communistically inclined. The committee further took into consideration the derogatory information in the files of the Intelligence Agencies indicating that the sponsors were Communists or fellow travelers. On April 23, 1942, the Board of Appeals reversed the opinion of the Primary and Review Committees and entered a favorable recommendation. A pertinent portion of its opinion is quoted:

RECORDED & INDEXED "The male applicant is a well-known author. He is opensored by Thomas Mann and Both sponsors firely declare the applicant's political beliefs are neither pro-Nazi ner pro-Communist but are strictly Demogratic. Meedless to say, the sponsorship Mayorl the highest type. By reason of his abilities applicant may well be a very useful person in the United States. His opposition to Nasismis clear. He may thus be wisely and safely admitted into the United States,

is a Polish national and his wife an enemy alien, having been born in Germany. The applicant and his wife are presently in the United States, coming here in 1940.

MAY 2 19



In addition to the substantial amount of information indicating is a Communist, the Appeals Board, at the time of its decision, had available a write-up furnished by this Bureau which contained approximately seven pages of references indicating the Communistic background and activities of sponsor Thomas Mann whose statement that the applicant was not Communistic was relied upon by the Appeals Board.

From my observation of the decisions of the Appeals Board and from my discussions with the members of the board, I believe it is not too such to say that such board is absolutely indifferent to any danger growing out of the Communistic inclinations or activities of any sponsor or applicant. It also seems apparent that the majority of the work done by the Appeals Board is performed by who claims acquaintance and friendship with a substantial number of persons reflected by the files of this Bureau to be members of Communist front organizations. Who gives the impression of being of a more conservative turn of mind, has, according to my observations, displayed little interest in the Appeals Board work and is present at the State Department, in connection with his work, not more than one day a week. To a great extent, therefore, the decisions and opinions of the Appeals Board represent the point of view of



are strictly Democratic. Needless to say, the sponsorship is of the highest type. By reason of his abilities applicant may well be a very useful person in the United States. His opposition to Nazism is clear. He may thus be wisely and safely admitted into the United States. family unit, and since there is no derogs

Since husband and wife are a

INDEXED

MAY

U. S. LY:

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Memorandum for Mr

information in relation to the wife, the finding with respect to the husband supplies the requirements for the wife, who is an alien enemy. The Board recommends that the visas be granted."

From the decision of the Board of Appeals, it will be seen that they completely ignore the FBI report, which was present in the file, and at the same time completely ignore the issue as to whether is a Communist. On the contrary, they turn instead to the questionable statements of Thomas Mann and as a basis for their guarantee would be a desirable

ntizen.

As you know this is but one of the many cases in which the Board of Appeals has exhibited similar tendencies. It demonstrates such a flagrant attitude on their part that I feel it should be brought to the Director's personal attention.

RECOLDENDED ACTION:

It is recommended that this matter be brought to the personal attention of the Director and if it is felt that sufficient data has been accumulated on the Board of Appeals, that action be taken to relieve this situation.

Respectfully

Attachment

MENORANDUM

, 1942

Case:

Birth:

Nationality: Polish

IVRC Docket No.

Visa Desired: Immigration

ADVISORY OPINIONS FAVORAFLE UNFAVORABLE Primary Committee (II State War (Date) FPI Eovember 1, 1941 USIS Nevy State Review Committee (C) "ar (Date) FEI April 1, 1942 USIS Navy FAVORAFLE Eoard of Appeals: (Date)

April 23, 1942

Excerpt from opinion of Board of Appeals:

"The male an licent is a Polish national. His wife is a native of Germany. Applicants resided in Paris from 1935 until 1940. At that time they came to the United States where they are at present.

The male applicant is a well-known author. He is sponsored by Thomas Kann and both sponsors firmly declare the applicant's political beliefs are neither pro-Kasi nor pro-Communist but are strictly Democratic. Reedless to say, the sponsorship is of the highest ty, a. By reason of his abilities applicant may well be a very useful person in the United States. His opposition to having is clear. He may thus be wisely and safely admitted into the United States. Since husband and wife are a family unit, and since there is no derogatory information in relation to the wife, the finding with respect to the husband supplies the requirements for the wife, who is an alien enemy. The Board recommends that the visas be granted.

40-13197-4

Mr. Tolson .. Mr. E. A. Tamm. Mr. Glavin Mr. Ladd Military Intelligence Service Mr. Rosen Washington JUN 24 1943 Mr. Coffey..... Mr. Hendon Subject: Letter of Transmittal. Mr. McGuire To: Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Mr. Quinn Temm.... Director, Pederal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, Miss Gandy..... Washington, D. C. The attached communications are forwarded for your information and such action as you consider advisable. For the Chief, Military Intelligence Service: L. R. POLYTY Colonel, General Staff Corps, Asst. Executive Officer, MIS. Enclosures: 100-388240-X THIS DOCUMENT WAS A DECIPOSIFIED PER RAMY & DECIPOSIFIED PER RAMY & DECIPOSIFIED PER RAMY 10/6/83 RECORDED INDEXED Rud fele phone CAIL FROM FOIR ?? FOR VERIFICATION, ON 10/18/83 5P5 e 3/11/9F #360618 77 JUL 3 1943 76/

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HEADQUARTERS SOUTHERN DEFENSE COMMAND Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2

(G-2) 5940 German - 3020 Comm.

Fort Sam Houston, Texas May 24, 1943

SUBJECT: Thomas MANN.

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

1. Subject, 1550 San Remos Drive, PACIFIC PALISADES, California, German author, continues his anti-Nazi activities in a letter he recently wrote to Carl You LUSTIC-PREAN, SAO PAOLO, Brazil, leader of the Brazilian Free German Movement, congratulating him upon the first anniversary of the recognition by Brazilian authorities of his movement, and thanking him for his activities fostering another and better Germany.

2. Subject, contributor of an article to "The Black Book on the Nazi Terror in Europe", published by El Libro Libre, has been listed as one of its co-workers by Freies Deutschland, anti-Nazi magazine published by German Communists in Mexico.

PREVIOUS DISTRIBUTION:

EVALUATION: A-8

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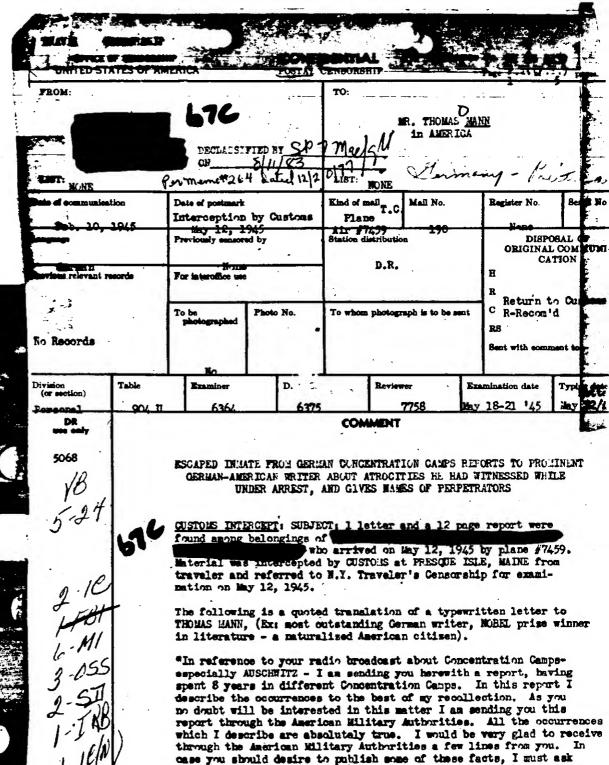
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MA, Mexico City
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Germany.

SECURITY DIVERION ROUTING

Attached to the letter is the above mentioned 12 page typewrity in report of the various personal experiences and facts during the 8 years of the writer's Concentration-Camp life.

you not to reveal my mame, as I still have some relations in Hitler

Writer - apparently a miner by trade - starts by stating that in 1933 when HITLER came to power he made up his mind to fight Hitlerism illegally through anti-fascist literature received from surced. If 1935 he was arrested, tortured and convicted of treasure. He spire 3 years in different pent I camps until 1938. In 1937 then the war broke out he was again at rested as politically until the land sent to the Concentration Camp SUGHENNAME.

In the beginning of 1942 in was transferred to the big Concentration Camp for women RAVERSERUECK in MEKLENGURG. In Oct. 1942 he was sent

SPECIAL NOTICE.—The attached in BYRON PRIC

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CONFIDERTIAL POSTAL CENSORSHIP

NY TC 3439 20020 NP. I. (N.Y.) Page

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FROM:

TO:

MR. THOMAS MANN in AMERICA

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COMMENT

to AUSCHWITZ in Poland - the biggest and most notorious of Concentration Camps. Finally he and his family succeeded to escape to ... the Allies.

He graphically describes the maltreatment, tortures and massmurders of Jews and prisoners of war (Ex. facts by now well known) and gives the following names of Nazis in the different Camps, prominent through sadism and general brutality and who in writers opinion must be held responsible.

LANUS of DUESSELDORF - Chief Secretary of the Criminal Department-1935.

CAMP I - BOERGERMOUR

SCHAFFER - S.A. STANDARTENFUEHRER - head of all the penal camps in BOERGERMOOR. He was also Commandant of the Concentration Camp ORANIENBURG by BERLIN.

"SCHINDERHANNES" (nickname) - S.A. SCHARFUERER, son-in-law of SCHAEFER.

MAUEL - LAGERFUEHRER

* POPPEL XKAISER XLOGS.

CONCENTRATION CAMP BUCHENWALDE

KOCH (Ex: see note) SS. STANDARTENFUEHRER, Commander of camp. Ister + - THAT IN Concentration Camp

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP UNITED STATES OF AMERICA CONFIDENTIAL POSTAL CENSORSHIP

TO:

RECORD No. MY TC 3439 P.I.(N.Y.)

A CANADA SANCE

May 18-21 '45 May 22/4

FROM:



MR. THOMAS MANN in AMERICA

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COMMENT

* KFER - SS. HAUPTSTURIFUEHRER - camp physician

6375

ALMAIRE - "GESTAPO BANDIT" from AACHEN

XSERNO - from BERLIN

6364

KHINKELMANN - called the "bandsome KDE" SS. SCHARFUEHRER. Head of the camp for Polish prisoners of war who were literally starved to death.

7758

8S. OBERSCHAPFUEHRER A VRIVHVR -

SS. OBERSCHARFUEERER, one of the most feared of the ¥ <u>SONE.33R</u> -UNTERFUEHRERS.

SS. OBERSCHARFUEHRER REISIG -

SS. OBERSCHAPFUEHRER JARHNISCH -

SS. HAUPTSCHARFUEHRER - also from the Concentration BLANK -Camp DACHAU.

The last 5 mentioned above belonged to the murder-commandos who murdered thousands of Russian officers - prisoners of war.

HIANK also murdered the well-known former deputy of the K.P.D.

(Ex. German Communist Party) SCHOLEN, and Colonel STAHL - secretary
of Prince STARHEMBERG (Ex: former-Wide-Chancellor of Aust 12). Also

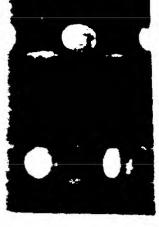
STARDTLE - the REINTERRUCHERER from Austria.

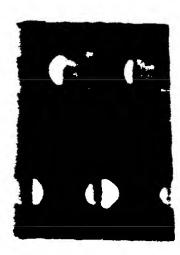
Burdered there were also ERNSP BILMAIN - the former head on he K.P.D. together with RUDGEL BREAKED (Ex. member of German Cabin

Concentration Camp RAVENSBRUKCE

X SAUREN - 85. STURMBANNFUERRER Commander of the camp

8S. OBERSTURE USERER, SCHUTZHAFTLAGERFUERER





I OF CENSORSHI' UNITE STATES OF AMERICA

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TO:

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MR. TEUMAS MANN IN AMERICA

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Personal

May 18-21 '45 May 22/45

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5068

The following were outstanding in their maltreatment and brutality in the mines of MJAWISCHWITZ" and "HERMANN COERING".

*Director HEINE - Manager of the mines

Director HEIL - Assistant Manager

FAHRSTEIGER (miner) FREIHOF

PAHRSTEIGER (miner KUEHNEMANN

STEIGER (miner) SPERLING

STRIGER (miner) HIELLER

WILHEL WACKEL - SS. SCHARFUEHRER.

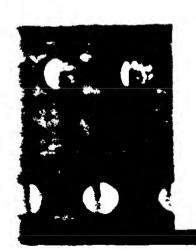
LAGERFUEHRER in JAWISCHWITZ - a former Polish subject who has been for several years in the Polish Army."

Ex. Note: There is a

1) KICH, ERIC - (Mesi Party Official) - Burope SWI/290 and Ye 4601))

2 KOCH, BRNST (8-.) - MAISER WILHELMST. 5. RAHLSTEDT HAMBURG, GERMANY - GJ 4601





OPECIAL NOTICE

OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP UNITED STATES OF AMERICA **CONFIDENTIAL** POSTAL CENSORSHIP

TO: -

NY TC 3439

May 18-21 45 hay 22/1

FROM:



MR. THOMAS MANN in AMERICA

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6364

COMMENT

SCHNELL, MAX - A former jeil-bird, in charge of work bettalions. In good humor only on those days when able to bring back to the camp some of his workers as corpses. For his own security - he was later transferred to the Concentration Camp MEUVAMUEP near HAMBURG.

Concentration Camp AUSCHTITZ

physician of BERLIN - SS. STUREFUEHRER

carried out by in.

camp physician, also resident physician in AUSCHFITZ. Already listed by the Allies as war criminal.

7758

PALIG -SS. HAUPTSCHARFF ERER, all executions by shooting were

REMALE -SS. HAUPTSCHARFUEHRER

SCHWARTZ -SS. HAUPTSCHARFUEHRER - Work Administrator for all the branch camps.

V TINDECK, JUPP-of M. GLADBACH - Camp senior a tool used by the SS. well-known for his maltreatment of prisoners. One day his power came to an end and he landed in the penal camp at BIRKENAU. He denounced many of his old courades and was selected to punish them by floggin:

which he performed with fiendish pleasure.

Y PHIDERS -SS. Physician UNTERSTURBURER, introduced the maner murder of jews by mas

> An Austrian from Vienne SS. OBERSTURISTURISE, head of the political section. Mainly responsible for the all ment1 d murders.

PERRER, LAGERPUERER, a veritable endist. SS. HAT





SPECIAL NOTICE -- The extended I

AUMETER -

Office Memoi undum 55 GOVERNMENT

Director, FHI

DATE: May 25, 1950

SAC, Los Angeles

SUBJECT:

THOMAS MANN

INTERNAL SECURITY - R

Rev 190-40602

Classified by SPIAGSO

Declassify on: DADR &

The following is being furnished for your information

los Angeles, California, whose name should be protected, advised this office on 5/9/50 that he had been in conversation with Mrs. THOMAS MANN relative to the HEINRICH LUIWIG MANN estate. In this connection learned that Mr. and Mrs. THOWAS MANN were planning in the near future to travel to Germany. The information did not appear especially significant until viewed in light of the following

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It is noted that

Jis very probably

contacted HEINRICH LUDWIG MANN on 9/14/49 at MANN's epartment, 2145 kontana Avenue,
Santa Monica, California.

The inference is being entertained that THOMAS and KATIA MANN were or
still are expecting funds from

to finance their return to the powlet controlled
Eastern Sector of Germany.



June 19, 1950

MEMO:

Thomas MANN

4-7-1

TO BA

The attached clipping is from page 2/1 of the book "Men Without Faces" by LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ.

67C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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EDWARD SCHOOT SAC NEW YORK, N.Y.

KA CO

217

CAPTURE OF THE INNOCENTS

Albert Einstein, neither of whom are Communists. Mann is the noted novelist who has long been a warm defender of Moscow. His name can be found on many Communist fronts, including the successor to the Young Communist League, the American Youth for Democracy. The world-famous Einstein, though occasionally dissenting from Communist views, has likewise sponsored a number of Communist-concocted groups.

INDEXED - 49

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CCO. June 16th, 1951 ALL INTORITATION CONTAINED PERRIN IS UNDLASSIFIED DITE 8/9/83 BY SP. 7 mg Mr. John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation U.S Department of Justice Washington, D.C. My dear Mr. Hoover: Perhaps you'll recall that I have sent you last that time, you were kind enough to drop me a few lines. homas Mann and the Commissar has just been published in the New Leader. I think that this revelation should be of interest to you, and I take the liberty to enclose the clipping. material on Thomas Mann in my files, in case anyone from your office should ever be interested in it. Very truly yours, mc 1. P.S. I enclose also two European clippings for your perusal one , from the French Communist weekly, Action about the F.B.I and the other one from the leftistGerman weekly, Freie Tribuene, Duesseldorf with a paragraph marked for you. RECORDED-20 INDEXED-20 AUG 10 1951 EX. - 106 18

How Nehru Suppressed The Truth on Red China

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED



LEWIS COREY:

E MUST FREE KOREA

RIDGWAY: TO THE YALU

Eugene Tillinger

6 Thomas Mann and the Commissar

G. E. R. Gedye 13 Report from Trieste

Touvia Ashkenazi

16 Middle Eastern Defense

Sol Sanders

21 Two Fallacies on Asia

M. K. Argus

22 Third Man in St. Joe's Court

Daniel Bell

23 One-Crop Socialism

Editorial

30 The Communist Eleven

JUNE 18, 1951

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THOMAS MANN AND THE COMMISSAR

By Eugene Tillinger

Thomas Mann as an upholder of Soviet amorality, calling attention to his long record as a signer of pro-Communist appeals and supporter of pro-Communist causes, the novelist, infuriated, claimed that he had become the innocent victim of a "witch hunt." Trying to hide behind excuses and naive "denials," Thomas Mann smeared me in the best tradition of those who, unable to refute accusations factually, prefer to question their opponents' motives by means of innuendo.

The apologists for Thomas Mann naturally went all-out in the master's defense, attacking what they call the "undignified way of dragging men of literature into the political arena and inquiring into their political views." The main line of defense was that no one has the right to criticize the political views of the novelist; that these ought to be considered strictly private. In short, Thomas Mann is sacrosant. True, he states his views in exclusive interviews with well-known Communist party newspapers; true, he makes public

EUGENE TILLINGER, former NANA reporter in Europe, has written for This Week, Liberty and other magazines.

speeches in the Soviet zone of Germany; true, he endorses Soviet-sponsored "peace" conferences—but all this is strictly his "private" concern. Besides, the argument runs, he is not a Communist.

But I wonder what Thomas Mann's apologists in this country and in Europe will say when they read the almost unbelievable eulogy written by Herr Mann to Stalin's Number One cultural boss in Germany, as published in an East German Communist newspaper!



MANN: 'THE DAY WILL COME'

On May 22, 1951, Johannes R. Becher, President of the Red Cultural League for German Democratic Renewal, chairman of innumerable Stalinist fronts, and one of the most outspoken Kremlin mouthpieces in Germany, celebrated his sixtieth birthday. This world-shaking event gave Thomas Mann an opportunity to address the following letter to Becher:

"This praise will prove inadequate enough in any individual case—particularly in my case and the contributor has to depend



BECHER: 'LOOK ... EAST "OF " "TO

The New Leader

upon the harmony, the success of the entity of which he is a part. In no case would and should I like to be missing from the many [people] whom the beautiful day of the feast of life of Johannes R. Becher provides with an occasion for a manifestation of sympathy, of comrade-like high esteem, that loosens the tongue - sentiments which on ordinary days one may keep in self-evident silence but which, however, demand expres-

sion on festive days. "Let me say this: Even more, or almost more than the poct and writer, I love and honor in Johannes R. Becher the man-this deeply stirred heart, moved by sincere impulses, that I have felt beating on so many occasions, particularly during our meeting when I visited Weimar in 1949a personal experience which has left behind a lasting impression of his nature and his being. The essence of his being I felt to be an unselfishness, pure and absorbing as a flame; a readiness to serve, fervent to the point of suffering, which totally penetrates his poetry and his writings; an ethos of community which predestines him emotionally to be a Communist, and which politically has become

"His Communism has positively patriotic color; as a matter of fact, it fulfills itself in patriotism. One has only to read his poems to know that his impetus toward service to the community, to the people, is first and last the fervent wish to serve his people, the German people, and to be its loving and faithful adviser, to the best of his knowledge and conscience. I think the day will come when the German people in its entirety will thank him for his love.

a Communist creed.

"My best wishes to the 60-yearold Johannes R. Becher.'

Thus spoke Thomas Mann. I have purposedly reproduced the entire text of this unique letter, as it appears in the German Communist press, so that Thomas Mann cannot claim, as he usually does, that some sentences have been taken out of context. It is interesting to note that Neues Deutschland of May 22 carries the text under the symbolic heading: "The Day Will Come . . . by Thomas Mann" [see cut-ED.]. This line,

Der Tag wird kommen / Von Thomas Mann

Unsulänglich genug wird im Einzelfalle — in meinem Fall besonders — diese Würdigung geraten, und der Beitragende muß sich auf den Zusammenklang, das Glücken des Ganzen verlassen, in das seine Stimme sich einfügt. Auf keinen Pall will und darf ich fehlen unter den vielen, denen der schöne Tag des Lebenssestes von Johannes R. Bechar zu einer Kundgebung der Sympathie, kameradschaftlichen der Hachschätzung die Zunge löst - Gefühle, die der Alltag im Schweigen der Selbstverständlichkeit halten mag, die aber, wenn das Leben festlich wird, nach Ausdruck verlangen.

Lassen Sie mich folgendes sagen: Mehr noch, oder fast mehr noch, als den Poeten und Schriftsteller liebe und ehre ich in Johannes R. Becher den Menschen - dies drängend bewegte, von innigen Impulsen ge-triebene Herz, das ich mir bel so mancher Begegnung, besonders aber bei unserem Zusammensein während meines Besuches in Weimar 1949, entgegenschlagen fühlte — eine per-sönliche Erfahrung, die eine fort-dauernde Ergriffenheit von seiner

Matur, seiner Existens in mir surückgelassen hat. Als sein Wesen empfand ich eine Selbstlorigkeit, rein wie die Flamme, und verzehrend wie sie; eine bis zum Leiden inbrünstige Dienstwilligkeit, die sein Dichten und Schreiben gans und gar durchdringt; ein Gemeinschaftsethos, das ihn seelisch zum Kommunisten prädisponiert und im Politischen denn auch zum kommunistischen Bekenntnis geworden ist.

Dieser sein Kommunismus ist durchaus patriotisch gefärbt, er erfüllt sich tatsächlich im Patriotismus, und sein Drang zum Dienst an der Gemeinschaft, dem Volke, ist - man lese nur seine Gedichte - zuerst und zuletzt der heiße Wunsch, seinem Volke, dem deutschen, zu dienen und thm ein liebevoller, getreuer Berater nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen zu sein. Ich glaube, der Tag wird kommen, wo ihm das deutsche Volk in seiner Gesamtheit für diese Liebe Dank wissen wird.

Dem sechzigiährigen Johannes R. Becher meinen berzlichen Glückwunsch.

-Neues Deutschland, May 22, 1951

taken from the most significant sentence of his letter, reveals the true inclination of Thomas Mann. Since he writes that "the day will come, when the German people in its entirety will thank [Johannes R. Becher] . . . ," one can only assume that Herr Mann hopefully means the day when all Germany goes Communist.

BEWILDERED?

This time, it will be extremely difficult for Thomas Mann to claim that the letter is a forgery, as he did when confronted with the photostat of his signature under the Stockholm "Peace" Appeal. But I can easily imagine a bewildered Thomas Mann declaring, one of these days, that he had never really known until this moment that Johannes R. Becher was a Communist! Hasn't Mann recently maintained that the controversial "Peace" Appeal was "drawn up in Stockholm and hence unlikely to have been made in Moscow"?.

Let there be no mistake: Thomas

Mann knows very well what he is doing. He emphasizes that he loves "even more, or almost more than the poet and writer . . . Johannes R. Becher the man . . ." Such is his eulogy to the Red cultural commissar who presented him with the Goethe Prize in Weimar in 1949. This event evidently left such a lasting impression on Mann that he is unable to forget it. He still feels Becher's "deeply stirred heart" beating, as he recalls that memorable moment when the boss of the Stalinist German intellectuals told him:

"We thank you, Thomas Mann, that you, the proven fighting humanist, when the time has come, have risen openly against the fundamental folly of our time, as you defined anti-Bolshevism, and that you have recognized the need for a just and unbiased evaluation of the historical phenomenon of the great Soviet Union."

At this point, it is perhaps timely to recall what Thomas Mann said at the farewell bane or gir or in his

MANN CONTINUE

honor that day in Weimar. He spoke of "a new era [that] had confronted him here [in Eastern Germany], a vision of the future." He was not greeted, he said, as an old fogey, but as one who could help build a new world. "If that should happen," Mann added, "if actually I could, through my work, contribute something to the New [Order] I would be most happy in this environment."

'A PURE FLAME'

In his panegyrical tribute to Becher-the same Becher who did not blush when he wrote, "How happy must be the letter 'i,' as it is permitted to form a letter in the name of Stalin" - Thomas Mann seems definitely to have lost all sense of decency. He has sunk to a new low when he praises the "unselfishness, pure and absorbing as a flame," of a man who, not so long ago, publicly declared that the Soviet concentration camps in Eastern Germany are "a necessary establishment." When Mann, "in comrade-like high esteem" for Becher, whose Communism "has positively patriotic color," remarks that "one has only to read his poems" to understand him fully—this writer, surprisingly, is ready to agree. Here. for example, is a typical poem of Becher's that ought to enable anyone to understand him. Taken from Neue Deutsche Volkslieder, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin, 1950, it is entitled Hymn to the Soviet Union:

You are the citadel of humanity
In the storm of barbarism!
You are the world's best,
For your people became free . . .
To read Stalin's look,
We seek his face,
As if it were a being,
That daily speaks to us.
You are in our midst,
And your spirit breathes through
us.

It is your steps that announce
The road toward which Lenin
points.

You gave battle, the holy battle of freedom

To the hordes of the enemy.

The world is newly arisen

In the victory of the Soviet power.

Thomas Mann may say that it is unfair to judge Becher by one poem. Well, let's have another, also written last year, on the occasion of the third convention of the Red Socialist Unity party (SED) of East Germany. It is a cantata entitled Party, You Are Peace on Earth, which reads in part:

"Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin—you four,
The truth owes you power and honor...

Hail to you, Party!
On, let's sing a song!
Because immortal it is....
Everything we are

We thank you for!
You, comrades, indefatigably
You are building a world of
peace.

Let's gain power! Give the people power!

Party, you are peace on earth! When the clouds rise high,

When dark powers menace the world,

You, Party, you are the light!

Look to the East for victory,

In the dawn,

What a glow!

Thomas Mann's outburst extolling the notorious Stalinist agent Becher is beneficial to at least this extent: It explodes, once and for all, the great myth of Mann as a "loyal fighter for democracy" and opponent of totalitarianism.

MANN IN 1925: WHAT HAPPENED?

Thomas Mann has not always been an apologist for the Soviet regime and its stooges. Twenty-six years ago, he raised his voice eloquently against the greatest of all the Kremlin's crimes, its inhuman treatment of political opponents. Here is what he wrote, in 1925, in a letter to the International Committee for Political Prisoners, headed by Roger Baldwin:

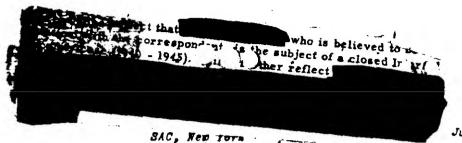
"1 Poschlingerstrasse Munich, Germany February 25, 1925

"DEAR SIR:

"I am extremely obliged to you for sending me the 'Letters from Bolshevist Prison and Exile.' I have studied the collection, and the impression the letters nude on me has been so much the more terrible because they were so undoubtedly genuine. You do not wish to have any intrusion of politics in the matter; no more do I. But the question presents itself, and will invariably be asked, what has really changed in Russia for the better or even changed at all as compared to former times, since the founding of this atheistic God-State which is called Communism? I read that in one of these martyr abodes, where these letters were written, and which was formerly a church, they have removed all the religious images and symbols, and have put in their place the pictures of Lenin, Trotsky and Marx. I don't know how Lenin and Trotsky feel about this proceeding, but I am sure Karl Marx would turn in his grave if news from the world of these letters should force its way to him. I wish you every success in your humanitarian enterprise aimed at softening the inhumanity which the Russian Government practices or believes must be tolerated in order that it may itself survive, and I gladly authorize you to make every use of these lines which you may consider necessary. "Yours Sincerely."

(Published in Letters from Russian Prisons, Boni, N. Y., 1925, pp. 11-12)

"THOMAS MANN."



SAC, New 1078 '00-388240-X4 Director, FBI

MFOR WART

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREI!! IS UNCLASSIFIED PATE \$ 19.187 . BY . SP. 7. MUR

Attached herewith are photostatic copies of a communication dated June 16, 1951, concerning the cartioned individual which was received at the Bureau from

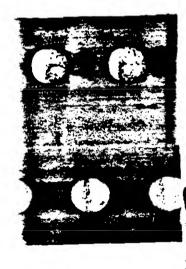
Bureau files contain considerable data of a controversial nature concerning the correspondent.

100-10455-31

Bureau files further reflect that he communicated with the Bureau by letter dated December 29, 1949, and enclosed a reprint of an article entitled "The Foral Decline of Thomas Fann" which appeared in the December 1949 is sue of "Flain" Talk".

94-36511-111

You are instructed to arrange for an interview with the correspondent in the near future, at which time the receipt of his communication at the Bureau should be acknowledged. You should ascertain if he is in possession of any information or material of interest to the Bureau. The Bureau should be promptly advised of the results of your interview.



U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE Constitution IEPPIAED - DISECTOR ال ٰل - 1951 MAILED 19

183

Director, FBI

DATE: September 4, 1951

SAC, New York

THOMAS MANN:

INFORMANT

SECURITY MATTER-C 100-1505 11. - [

Rebulet 7/2/51.

on 8/20/51 was contacted by an Agent of this Office. His letter of 6/16/51 to the Director was acknowledged.

> three articles which are enclosed. They are:

"The Moral Eclipse of THOMAS MANN", published in the December, 1949 issue of "Plain Talk".
"THOMAS MANN'S Left Hand", published in the March 26,
1951 issue of "The Freeman".

"THOMAS MAMN and the Commisser", published in the June 18, 1951 issue of "The New Leader".

has several hundred clippings, letters, speeches, articles, etc., relating to MANN. He stated that much of the material is in foreign language as it was obtained from various European publications. He stated that the material goes back prior to World War I, and is rather complex and not easily understood unless one understands the political setup in Europe since prior to World War I.

Encs. (3)

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Letter to Director NY 100-105412

He added that he would be glad to furnish the information to this office or any other government for photostating it, if they ever have "need" of it.

Due to the nature of the material and as did not specifically offer the material he was not asked for it.

bie DD

This case is being placed in a closed status, and will not be requested to furnish his material for photostating UACB.

the Bureau could feel free to call on him at any time.

PLAINTED FROM TALK

DECEMBER, 1949 25 CENTS

A REPORT FROM WASHINGTON:

"We're For Government Economy, But . . . "

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The Moral Eclipse of Thomas Mann

UNTOLD STORY OF HIS GERMAN TRIP AN OPEN LETTER
TO THOMAS MANN

Count H. von Einsiedel

Who'll Drop the Next Atom Bomb?

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

100-388240-X5 (Complete Contents Inside)

The FCC vs. God

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

The Moral Eclipse of Thomas Mann

In his exposé, EUGENE TILLINGER shows Thomas Mann's record to be that of an erstwhile champion of the Kaiser's Kultur, of an early appeaser of Goebbels' "culture," and of an upholder of the Soviet school of amorality . . . from his magic mountain in Hollywood, Mann journeyed as an American citizen to the land of Goethe, raising in his wake that double standard of morality cultivated by the Nazis and Communists.

By EUGENE TILLINGER

PORGOTTEN skeletons in Thomas Mann's closet began to rattle in the wake of his recent appearances as America's Fellow-Traveler No. 1. Only a few are familiar with Thomas Mann's record during the apotheosis of Prussian militarism in World War I and the honeymoon of the Hitler-Goebbels Rultur in the early thirties. Mann's countless admirers have been shocked by his avowed championship of the dark forces threatening civilization.

When Thomas Mann openly endorsed Henry A. Wallace in November, 1948, calling the Progressive Party's Presidential candidate "America's most faithful son . [who] doesn't let himself be intimidated by those idiots who insult him," it surprised many genuine progressives.

The surprise increased on November 7, 1948, when Mann declared to the German-American, a New York Communist periodical: "Because I am not a capitalist, I don't have enough fear of the Russian threat to the capitalist-bourgeois way of life. But as far as I can see, Russia doesn't threaten the thing that matters most, peace."

Thomas Mann plumbed new depths when he became a sponsor of the Moscow-monitored Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held at the Waldorf-Astoria in March, 1949. While other intellectuals of integrity withdrew their names upon learning the true nature of this Communist stratagem, he did not. On the contrary, he sent a message to the chairman of the Conference describing it as "one ray of hope and reason." In this message he expressed his regret over "the machinations aimed at discrediting" the Conference-a slap at the State Department which had revealed the bogus character of the affair-and denounced "the assiduous enemies of peace" who were opposed to the meeting—a brazen slap at some of our life-long fighters for peace.

The nadir was reached when Mann made a personal appearance at the Hollywood Arts, Sciences and Professions Council's conference on peace in Los Angeles in June, 1949. The Daily Worker reported that he "called the Marshall Plan a bribe to European countries to abandon socialism and fight Russia," and warned that the United States today is "dangerously close to a police state."

THOMAS MANN revealed himself fully during his trip to Germany last summer. In Frankfurt-am-Main in Western Germany, where he received

the Goethe Prize, Mann was asked at a press conference whether, in his opinion, there is a difference between nazism and communism. According to Der Kurier of July 26, he declared that there is a "moral difference" and added: "Communism has a certain relation to the ideal of humanity and the ideal of a better future for mankind. National Socialism resembled nihilism. It was diabolical." He told the press that he was not a Communist.

When it became known that the city of Weimar in the Soviet zone had invited Thomas Mann to receive its own Goethe Prize, the novelist was urged to reject the invitation. He refused. Newspapermen then asked him if, while in Weimar, he would request permission to visit the Soviet concentration camp of Buchenwald, only a few miles from the city. Mann answered that such a request would not be "according to the wishes of the group which invited me."

Disregarding innumerable requests from former inmates of Buchenwald, Mann went to Weimar and was immediately seized upon by the gigantic propaganda apparatus of the Soviets. He was acclaimed with panegyrical glorification. Free German (Communist) youth groups surrounded his car and sang songs for him. Delegations of miners and other workers appeared in his hotel. Everything was done to flatter the 74-year-old novelist.

In presenting the prize to Mann in the Weimar National Theater, Johannes R. Becher, the boss of German Stalinist intellectuals, said: "We thank you, Thomas Mann, that you, the proven fighting humanist, when the time has come, have risen openly against the fundamental folly of our era, as you defined anti-Bolshevism, and that you have recognized the need for a just and unbiased evaluation of the historical phenomenon of the great Soviet Union."

The French Stalinist weekly l'Action (August 11) stated: "Mann reminded those who wanted to push him into the camp of anti-Sovietism of a sentence he once had written: Anti-Bolshevism is the fundamental folly of our era."

Mann was swept away by this wave of admiration. At the farewell banquet given in his honor in Weimar as happily reported by Tägliche Rundschau, official daily of the Soviet Military Authority:

Thomas Mann declared that during his visit to Weimar, he had noticed a remarkable difference between the Western and Eastern zones of Germany. In Western Germany he had been honored. . . as, so to speak, the last representative of the bourgeois era, [but] here [in Bastern Germany] a new era had confronted him, a vision of the future. He was not greeted here as an old fogy, but as one who could help to build a new world. 'If that should happen, said Thomas Mann, 'if actually I could, through my work, contribute something to the New [Order], I would be most happy in this environment."

ANTERESTINGLY, the quotations cited above were omitted from Thomas Mann's detailed article about his trip to Germany published in The New York Times Magazine of September 25. Though he referred to the National Theater presentation and to the

banquet, he did not mention either Becher's speech or his own statements on that occasion.

He did state in the Times article: "Among the Communist officials of the Russian zone I found many a figure in whose face I could read concentrated good-will and pure idealism" and commented as follows on a speech which Paul Wandel, President of the German Administration for Popular Education in Berlin, had made in Weimar:

"He spoke of agrarian reform, of 'democratic re-education', of the socialization of the means of production, of measures to promote intellectual life, measures aimed at a more intimate bond between the people and creative workers. . . . A wishful challenge was thrown out-the challenge of a Europe that could not be bought, that would no longer be the kept woman of the men with the big moneybag; a Europe that would regain her dignity, pursuing her course by her own will, her own laws and necessities. . . Terror is detestable; but are not the conditions imposed by a creditor only a more 'humane' form thereof?"

When Mann wrote his Times artiticle, he must have been in possession of an Open Letter that the Swedish journalist, Paul Olberg, had published in various European newspapers, and sent to him. This is clear because Mann's answer to Olberg is dated August 27. The letters are still being discussed all over Europe.

The Swedish journalist wrote: "With deep sorrow and bitter disappointment many of your admirers have learned that you have praised the high humanitarian ideals of Goethe before the Russian officials in Weimar—before ruthless men who trample upon the human dignity of people who think differently than they do. [These men] will certainly not fail to make the greatest propaganda use of the undeserved honor which you have bestowed upon them. But for the martyrs of liberty and human rights in the concentration camps your acceptance of homage from their torturers came as a staggering moral blow."

And Olberg asked these questions: "Did Thomas Mann change overnight? Does he worship today what he denounced yesterday? How can he, who is admired everywhere as representative and defender of humanity, approve and justify the same methods of degrading humanity which he rightly condemned in the case of the Nazis, the same methods which are now being used just as arbitrarily and ruthlessly by the Russian dictators? Do these men in power, who have violated all the principles of the Russian Revolution, deserve the respect, not to say the admiration, that a Thomas Mann pays them, in bowing before them and accepting honors from their hands?"

Mann's answer has stirred up a wave of anger among all freedom-loving intellectuals in Europe. He wrote:

"You seem not to know that the political regime in Thuringia is not a pure one-party system. Non-Communists are in the government, even more are in the city council. From the Lord Mayor of W. St., Buchterkirchen, who invited me is a

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Christian Democrat. . . . Badly received by the Russian press were my remarks about the fact that in the huge Russian land, autocracy and revolution have fought each other relentlessly for many centuries, but that they now have come nogether and that we face an autocratic revolution which uses the same sinister methods as the police state of the Czers, though for other purposes."

Then Mann went on: "Nevertheless, the fact that I reserve the right to make a distinction between the attitude of communism toward the idea of humanity, and the absolute baseness of fascism; that I refuse to participate in the hysteria of persecuting Communists and in warmongering; and that I speak for peace in a world whose future can no longer be imagined without Communist elements-this alone is sufficient to gain for me a certain confidence in the sphere of that social religion, which I have not sought [and] which, however, I will never be able to consider as a bad sign for my intellectual and moral health."

That the author's judgment of a culture is determined by whether it heaps unadulterated flattery on him, or tempers its praise with some criticism, seems apparent from his own statement:

"You speak a great deal of political freedom and civil rights, which are granted the people in the Western zone of Germany. . . . The authoritarian people's state has its horrible aspects. The benefit it brings is that stupidity and insolence at last have been forced to keep their mouths shut. In the Eastern zone I did not see mud-

slinging letters and insulting articles, as happened in the West. . . . Do I owe that only to the fear of Buchenwald-or to the education of the people, which, more successfully than that in the West, fosters respect for creative achievements like mine? . . . As far back as 1945, lectures were held in Weimar about my books, in particular about my Goethe novel, and prominent Communist literary historians and critics devoted important essays to my works. I am no fellowtraveler, but it seems that I have intelligent Communists as my fellowtravelers. . . . Violence is, of course, a bad thing, and the concentration camps are a terrible means of propaganda. But attempts to realize socialism without violence, as was tried by Benes, met with no favor, and all manner of opposition is being raised to the British experiment.

THE STATEMENTS Thomas Mann has made since his return to America are equally fantastic. The September, 1949, issue of the German-American quotes him as saying that "all the Nazis have been eliminated from office in the Soviet zone." Has he never heard of all the SS leaders and other Nazi war criminals who are now in key positions in the zone?

Yet the novelist told the press in Berkeley, California, that the Western powers favor Fascists in order to use them as shock troops against communism. The Frankfurter Rundschau of October 14 reported that these statements of Mann's were not only strongly denied by Western Allied Occupation authorities, but were compared in content and style with the

attacks being made daily from behind the Iron Curtain against the United States, Britain and France.

How MAR has the Thomas Mann of our day traveled since 1915, the Kaiser's heyday? In his essay Friedrich und die Grosse Koalision he wrote at that time:

War! It is purification, liberation, an enormous hope. . . . The victory of Germany will be a paradox, nay, a wonder: a victory of the soul over numbers. The German soul is opposed to the pacifist ideal of civilization, for is not peace the element of civil corruption? And in the same book, commenting on the destruction of the Rheims Cathedral by German bombs, Mann

Civilization! But first of all, Messieurs, the Rheims Cathedral has absolutaly nothing to do with civilization. It is a monument of Christian culture, a flower of fanaticism and superstition.

addressed himself to the French:

In his Thoughts in Wartime (1915) he waxed even more lyrical:

How the hearts of the poets stood in flames, for now it is war! . . . nothing better, more beautiful, happier, could happen to them in the whole world. • • •

All of Germany's virtue and splendor come out first in war. Peace does not always become it. • • •

The German soul is too deep to see in civilization a high idea or even the highest . . . it is opposed to the pacifist idea of civilization, for is not peace the element of civil corruption? • • •

Our moral code is psychically linked with our army spirit. While other cultures show the tendency to assume completely the shape of the civilian code of manners, German militarism is in reality the form and expression of German morality.

They want to make us happy. They want to bring to us the blessings of

demilitarization and democratization, and as we resist, they want to make human beings out of us by force. How far this is hypocrisy or coarse stupidity, nobody can tell. • • •

In the fall of 1933 when Thomas Mann's name was identified with a magazine, Die Sammlung, launched in Amsterdam by his son Klaus with the collaboration of such authors as André Gide and Aldous Huxley, the Goebbels Propaganda Ministry threatened to put Mann's books on the verboten list. Whereupon the future Nobel Prize winner wired from his abode in Switzerland to Goebbels' Reichsstelle claiming that he had been misled about the character of the publication. In a subsequent letter, which appeared in the October 14, 1933, issue of the official organ of the Nazi Book Trade, he

Would you carry out my declaration to its logical end by eliminating my name from the (proscribed) list—since that was the purpose of it.

Thomas Mann's books continued to be sold freely for several years. And in 1934 he addressed a letter to Hitler's Minister of the Interior asking for an extension of his German passport. To support his application, he dropped a few pearls such as his recollection of how he had "started the fight against the democratization of the German spirit" and his view, "the [Weimar] Republic for which I had not longed appeared to me a handiwork of destiny." As for Hitler's rise to power, Mann was most eloquent:

Since history has spoken, I have kept silent. This is my decision—to live in complete seclusion devoted to my personal tasks.

But who could resist the beckoning

PLAIN TALK

"one ray of hope and reason" shining from the domes of the Kremlin? No wonder Thomas Mann gave up the seclusion of his ivory tower in Holly—is morally consistent with the wood and, wrapped in the Stars and

Thomas Mann of 1949.

the FREEMAN

with which is combined the magazine, PLAIN TALK

Editors, JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

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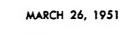
HENRY HAZUTT

VOL. 1-NO. 13

Managing Editor, SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

Business Manager, KURT LASSEN

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ABOUT
OUR
CONTRIBUTORS



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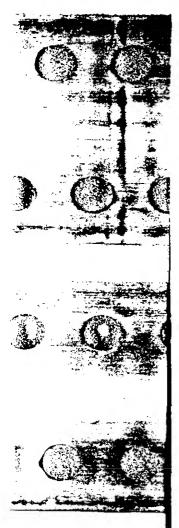
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The editors can not be responsible for manuscripts submitted but if return postage a enclosed they will endeavor to see that manuscripts rejected are promptly returned.

It is not to be understood that articles signed with a name, pseudonym, or initials necessarily represent the opinion of the editors, either as to substance or style. They are printed because, in the editors' judgment, they are intrinsically worth reading.

HAMILTON A. LONG, Air Force major in the last war, is now gathering material for a book on the wartime activities of Communists in the United States. He is a lawyer by profession. . . PIERRE FAILLANT, a French journalist, and ROBERT DONLEVIN, a young American writer with INS in Paris, collaborated on the dispatch, "Great Debate — Soviet Style." EUGENE TILLINGER wrote for the North American Newspaper Alliance in Europe. Now a free-lance in New York, he has contributed to This Week, Liberty and other magazines. Readers of Plain Talk will remember his "The Moral Eclipse of Thomas Mann." . . Articles by WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM appeared in the "Dictatorship of the Lie," written in 1936, was among the first to analyze the deep identity of Fascism and Bolshevism. KENDALL FOSS is well qualified to describe the Free University of Berlin, for General Clay in 1948 appointed him to help organize this unique institution. Mr. Foss, who is now doing free-lance writing in Munich, wrote for Time during the war years, and before the war spent six years in Europe for the INS and UP. . . AL HIRSHBERG went to work for the Boston Post as a college correspondent and has been there ever since, except for three years in the Navy. He now covers baseball and football almost exclusively, and has written books on the Boston Red Sox and the Boston Braves. . . . PRIN-CESS ALEXANDRA KROPOTKIN, well-known columnist and magazine writer, was born in London when her father, Prince Peter Kropotkin, was in exile from Czarist Russia. She began her writing career in Europe as foreign correspondent for English and South American papers, but has been an American citizen for twenty years. Bilingual from childhood, she translated into Russian Shaw's "Pygmalion" and other famous Eng-Snaw's "Pygmalion" and other famous English plays, and into English the new abridged editions of "War and Peace" and "The Brothers Karamazov." ... ERNEST C. POLLARD is Professor of Biophysics at Yale University. ... GEORGE H. FORD, associate professor of English at the University of Cincinnation of "Wester and the Cincinnati, is author of "Keats and the Victorians," "The Pickersgill Letters" and

other studies.





THE B-36 IS A TANKER Hamilton A. Long

THOMAS MANN'S LEFT HAND

Eugene Tillinger

APROPOS APOSTASY
William S. Schlamm

BASEBALL ACCEPTS THE NEGRO Al Hirshberg

FAREWELL TO UTOPIA

John Chamberlain

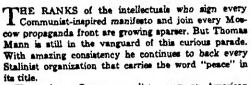
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THOMAS MANN'S LEFT HAND

BY EUGENE TILLINGER



The eminent German novelist - now an American citizen and a resident of California - sponsored the Win the Peace group in 1946. In 1948 he was chairman of the Conference for Peace. In 1949 he not only endorsed the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held at the Waldorf-Astoria, but denounced "the machinations aimed at discrediting" this partyline assembly. Now Thomas Mann is backing the newly formed American Peace Crusade, along with Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, Rockwell Kent, Elmer Benson, National Chairman of the Progressive Party, and such leaders of Communist-dominated unions as Ben Gold, Abram Flaxer and Hugh Bryson. The initial statement of this group calls for the withdrawal of American troops from Korea, an end to war in the Far East and to the armaments race, and "recognition of the right of the Chinese People's Republic to representation in the UN."

Thus the author of "The Magic Mountain," who has amphasized that "Anti-Bolsheviam is the fundamental

folly of our time," further deepens his own moral eclipse. The American press has paid little attention to certain pronouncements made by Thomas Mann in lectures and interviews, mostly abroad. But the Moscow propaganda machine has played them up to the full. The least that can be said of them is that they were just what the Kremlin publicista were looking for.

A few months ago it appeared that in the secl tower in S a bit unes his pro-Se His denis signed the holm Per carried in dispatch geles, da 1950. He never sig holm Per

if this is erroneously so often stated." And he added: "I heard about this assertion only comparatively late, because I traveled around the whole summer. Then, when I learned about it. I didn't deny it because it was too late and because I have always been for peace."

Dr. Mann's reference to the "assertion" that he had signed the Stockholm Appeal is vague, but this writer can refresh his memory. On May 18, 1950, the French weekly Les Lettres Françaises published an exclusive interview with Thomas Mann on its front page, under a screaming three-column headline. Les Lettres Françaises is not an obscure literary periodical; it is the French Communist Party's official organ in the cultural field. Its publisher, Claude Morgan, who interviewed Dr. Mann, is one of the foremost French Stalinist intellectuals. In granting this exclusive interview Thomas Mann must have been well aware with whom he was speaking - the more so because Morgan began by bringing him the greetings of the World Committee of the Partisans of Peace.

"Why did you sign the Stockholm Appeal?" Morgan asked.

Answered Thomas Mann: "I signed the Stockholm Appeal because I support every movement whose goal is to further peace. In an atomic war, I am convinced, there will be neither victor nor loser, but the world will

suffer general destruction. For that reason I have signed, I think I have [thus] acted in the interest of my new fatherland, America. . . ."

Another interview, in the French Communistfront periodical Droit et Liberti (May 25, 1950), quotes Thomas Mann as saying: "We must save the peace; this today is the most important thing. Therefore the movement for peace that started in Stockholm should be heartily welcomed." This article emphasizes the fact that "the night before this interview was granted, Thomas Mann had signed the Stockholm Appeal,'

The entire Communist press of Europe, inside and outside the Iron Curtain, featured excerpts from Dr. Mann's interview with Claude Morgan. It seems, therefore, rather strange

APPEL DE CONITE MORDIAL DES PARTISARS DE LA PAIX POUR L'INTERDICTION ABSOLUE L'ARME ATOMIQUE

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a United Press from Los An- ted October 81,		Mans
declared: "I have med the Stock- ace Appeal, even		

MARCH 26, 1951

that Mann, traveling in Europe at the very same time, should not have been aware of these "allegations." For instance, the Berlin Communist paper, BZ om Abend, reprinted the complete interview on May 23. The German Communist press service, DPA, quoted from Les Latires Françoises and commented:

Thus Thomas Mann publicly acknowledged . . . during his stay in Paris that he had put his signature on the Stockholm Appeal to ban the stom bomb. . . .

But by far the most devastating blow to Thomas Mann's "denial" was the reproduction by the French Communist press of his original signature on the official sheet of the World Committee of Partisans of Peace for the Absolute Prohibition of Atomic Weapons. Special leaflets bearing Mann's signature were circulated in France in order to get other signatures for the Stockholm Appeal (see photostatic copy reproduced with this article). The Berlin anti-Communist daily, Tages-Spiegel, on December 17 commented ironically that perhaps Thomas Mann had given his signature under the impression that he was dealing with innocent autograph hunters.

So much for Thomas Mann's "denial" number one. Now, let's look at his "denial" number two. On November 18, 1950, the German Communist paper, News Deutschland, reported that Thomas Mann had been elected to the presidium of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw. The next day, obviously to refute the story, which was embarrassing to him at that time, Thomas Mann issued a statement to the effect that he had nothing whatsoever to do with the Communist World Peace Congress. An Associated Press dispatch dated November 19 carried the following report:

Thomas Mann denied energetically maintaining any relation with the Second World Peace Congress. He declared that he did not want to be associated in any way with the 'peace congress,' but rather to serve the cause of peace itself without connection with any 'foreign group,' whose propagands hurts the idea of peace more than it helps it.

At first glance this statement gave the impression that Thomas Mann had finally seen the light. Unfortunately for Mann, however, there is documentary evidence to the contrary in a letter written by him in November 1950 to Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, president of the World Peace Congress. L'Humanité, official daily of the French Communist Party, published excerpts from this letter on November 15, 1950 on its special page devoted to the opening of the Warsaw meeting. Thomas Mann wrote to Joliot-Curie:

I received your letter as well as the motion addressed to the Security Council of the Office of the World Committee of the Partisans of Pesce, and I can not but express to you and to your co-workers my sympathy and my respect for your noble efforts to save the peace. In this undertaking you have allies throughout the world, and certainly in America, too, because the American people do not want war. There is a strong opposition [to it] from intellectuals, clergymen, scientists and writers. They fight the influence of those groups who, mistakenly, steer toward a war that will see no victor. The President jof the U. S.] receives a flood of letters and wires asking him to use every means to bring about an agreement with the Soviet Union.

It should be noted that this letter of praise was written

at a time when reports from London about the British Government's objections to the meeting of the World Peace Congress in Sheffield were carried on the front pages of the American press. If Thomas Mann really had intended to refute any connection with the World Peace Congress, he could have written Joliot-Curie to this effect. Instead, the novelist preferred to express his "sympathy" and "respect" for the work of an undisputed instrument of Stalinist propagands.

In a series of lectures delivered last summer in his native German in Zurich, Stockholm and other European cities, as well as in New York City, Thomas Mann proclaimed "humanistic communism" as his answer to the world's ills. He wanted the United States to take the initiative for a universal peace conference which, in the national interests of all peoples, would devise a plan for an over-all financing of peace, for a consolidation of all economic forces of all peoples, and for a just distribution of the world's goods. Such "humanistic communism" would outdo inhuman communism, in his opinion. If Moscow should reject participation in such world planning, if the Soviets should exclude themselves in their national egotism, only then but not before would Dr. Mann be ready to agree that Soviet Russia doesn't want peace! Even after the aggression in Korea, as late as August 23, 1950, in a lecture at the Yale Library in New Haven, he said he "did not think that Russia was preparing for war."

Nobody will deny or minimize Thomas Mann's stature as a novelist, but his political record as signer and endorser of pro-Communist statements, and as spokesman for fellow-traveling and Communist organizations and causes is a sorry testimony to the irresponsibility of a world-famous writer, whose behavior in these troubled times is of great propaganda value to the Kremlin.

What else is it when Practa stresses Mann's condemnation of the Atlantic Pact; when the German Red bosses, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, hail him as "intrepid fighter against warmongering and against anti-Bolshevism"; when East German Communist trade unions greet him as "brother-in-arms, a living protest against Americanism, boogie-woogiedom and cultural barbarism"?

It would have been wiser for Thomas Mann to keep out of politics. But as he obviously feels it his duty to send political messages, to sign political appeals, to endorse political causes, a few pertinent questions are in order:

Have you taken a definite stand on Korea?

Have you condemned Chinese Communist aggression? Have you ever spoken out against Soviet slave labor camps?

Have you endorsed the anti-Communist Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom?

Have you ever said a word about the brutal behavior of the Soviet representatives in the United Nations?

Have you ever protested against the loss of freedom of millions of non-Soviet citizens in the satellite countries?

Have you ever raised your voice against the religious persecutions behind the Iron Curtain?

Do you still believe that "anti-Bolshevism is the fundamental folly of our time"?



How Nehru Suppressed The Truth on Red China



LEWIS COREY:

WE MUST FREE LL KOREA

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Daniel Bell

23 One-Crop Socialism

Editorial

30 The Communist Eleven

JUNE 18, 1951 ____

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No Communist I, says the noted author, as he sings the praises

of an East German Stalinist literary hack

THOMAS MANN AND THE COMMISSAR

By Eugene Tillinger

Thomas Mann as an upholder of Soviet amorality, calling attention to his long record as a signer of pro-Communist appeals and supporter of pro-Communist causes, the novelist, infuriated, claimed that he had become the innocent victim of a "witch hunt." Trying to hide behind excuses and naive "denials," Thomas Mann smeared me in the best tradition of those who, unable to refute accusations factually, prefer to question their opponents' motives by means of innuendo.

The apologists for Thomas Mann naturally went all-out in the master's defense, attacking what they call the "undignified way of dragging men of literature into the political arena and inquiring into their political views." The main line of defense was that no one has the right to criticize the political views of the novelist; that these ought to be considered strictly private. In short, Thomas Mann is sacrosant. True, he states his views in exclusive interviews with well-known Communist party newspapers; true, he makes public

EUGENE TILLINGER, former NANA rein Europe, has written for This Week, Liberty and other magazines. speeches in the Soviet zone of Germany; true, he endorses Soviet-sponsored "peace" conferences—but all this is strictly his "private" concern. Besides, the argument runs, he is not a Communist.

But I wonder what Thomas Mann's apologists in this country and in Europe will say when they read the almost unbelievable eulogy written by Herr Mann to Stalin's Number One cultural boss in Germany, as published in an East German Communist newspaper!



MANN: 'THE DAY WILL COME'

60

On May 22, 1951, Johannes R. Becher, President of the Red Cultural League for German Democratic Renewal, chairman of innumerable Stalinist fronts, and one of the most outspoken Kremlin mouthpieces in Germany, celebrated his sixtieth birthday. This world-shaking event gave Thomas Mann an opportunity to address the following letter to Becher:

"This praise will prove inadequate enough in any individual case—particularly in my case—and the contributor has to depend



FCHER: 'LOOK ... EAST FOR VICTORY'

upon the harmony, the success of the entity of which he is a part. In no case would and should I like to be missing from the many [people] whom the beautiful day of the feast of life of Johannes R. Becher provides with an occasion for a manifestation of sympathy, of comrade-like high esteem, that loosens the tongue—sentiments which on ordinary days one may keep in self-evident silence but which, however, demand expres-

sion on festive days.

"Let me say this: Even more, or almost more than the poct and writer, I love and honor in Johannes R. Becher the man—this deeply stirred heart, moved by sincere impulses, that I have felt beating on so many occasions, particularly during our meeting when I visited Weimar in 1949 a personal experience which has left behind a lasting impression of his nature and his being. The essence of his being I felt to be an unselfishness, pure and absorbing as a flame; a readiness to serve, fervent to the point of suffering, which totally penetrates his poetry and his writings; an ethos of community which predestines him emotionally to be a Communist, and which politically has become

a Communist creed.

"His Communism has positively patriotic color; as a matter of fact, it fulfills itself in patriotism. One has only to read his poems to know that his impetus toward service to the community, to the people, is first and last the fervent wish to serve his people, the German people, and to be its loving and faithful adviser, to the best of his knowledge and conscience. I think the day will come when the German people in its entirety will thank him for his love.

"My best wishes to the 60-yearold Johannes R. Becher."

Thus spoke Thomas Mann. I have purposedly reproduced the entire text of this unique letter, as it appears in the German Communist press, so that Thomas Mann cannot claim, as he usually does, that some sentences have been taken out of context. It is interesting to note that Neues Deutschland of May 22 carries the text under the symbolic heading: "The Day Will Come... by Thomas Mann" [see cut—ED.]. This line,

Der Tag wird kommen / Von Thomas Mana

Unrulänglich genug wird im Ein-zelfalle — in meinem Fall besonders diese Würdigung geraten, und der Beitragende muß sich auf den Zu-sammenklang, das Glücken des Ganzen verlassen, in das seine Stimme sich einfügt. Auf keinen Fall will und darf ich fehlen unter den vielen, denen der schöne Tag des Lebensfestes von Johannes R. Becher zu einer Kundgebung der Sympathie, kameradschaftlichen der Hochschätzung die Zunge löst - Gefühle, die der Alltag im Schweigen der Selbetverständlichkeit halten mag, die aber, wenn das Leben festlich wird, nach Ausdruck verlangen.

Lassen Sie mich folgendes sagen: Mehr noch, oder fast mehr noch, als den Poeten und Schriftsteller liebe und ehre ich in Johannes R. Becher den Menschen — dies drängend bewogte, von innigen Impulsen getriebene Herz, das ich mir bei so mancher Begegnung, besonders aber bei unserem Zusammensein während meines Besuches in Weimar 1949, entgegenschlagen fühlte — eine persönliche Erfahrung, die eine fort-dauernde Ergriffenheit von seiner

Matur, seiner Existens in mir surüktgelassen hat. Als sein Wesen empfand ich- eine Selbstlosigkeit, rein wie die Flamme, und verzehrend wie sie; eine bis zum Leiden inbrünstige Dienstwilligkeit, die sein Dichten und Behreiben ganz und gar durchdringt; ein Gemeinschaftsethos, das ihn seelisch zum "Kommunisten prädisponiert und im Politischen denn auch zum kommunistischen Bekenntnis geworden ist.

Dieser sein Kommunismus ist durchaus patriotisch gefärbt, er erfüllt sich tatsächlich im Patriotismus, und sein Drang zum Dienst an der Gemeinschaft, dem Volke, ist — man lese nur seine Gedichte — zuerst und zuletzt der heiße Wunsch, seinem Volke, dem deutschen, zu dienen und ihm ein liebevollar, getreuer Berater nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen zu sein. Ich glaube, der Tag wird kommen, wo ihm das deutsche Volk in seiner Gesamtheit für diese Liebe Dank wissen wird.

Dem sechzigiährigen Johannes R. Becher meinen herzlichen Glück-wunsch.

-Neues Deutschland, May 22, 1951

taken from the most significant sentence of his letter, reveals the true inclination of Thomas Mann. Since he writes that "the day will come, when the German people in its entirety will thank [Johannes R. Becher]...," one can only assume that Herr Mann hopefully means the day when all Germany goes Communist.

BEWILDERED?

This time, it will be extremely difficult for Thomas Mann to claim that the letter is a forgery, as he did when confronted with the photostat of his signature under the Stockholm "Peace" Appeal. But I can easily imagine a bewildered Thomas Mann declaring, one of these days, that he had never really known until this moment that Johannes R. Becher was a Communist! Hasn't Mann recently maintained that the controversial "Peace" Appeal was "drawn up in Stockholm and hence unlikely to have been made in Moscow"?

Let there be no mistake: Thomas

Mann knows very well what he is doing. He emphasizes that he loves "even more, or almost more than the poet and writer . . . Johannes R. Becher the man . . ." Such is his eulogy to the Red cultural commissar who presented him with the Goethe Prize in Weimar in 1949. This event evidently left such a lasting impression on Mann that he is unable to forget it. He still feels Becher's "deeply stirred heart" beating, as he recalls that memorable moment when the boss of the Stalinist German intellectuals told him:

"We thank you, Thomas Mann, that you, the proven fighting humanist, when the time has come, have risen openly against the fundamental folly of our time, as you defined anti-Bolshevism, and that you have recognized the need for a just and unbiased evaluation of the historical phenomenon of the great Soviet Union."

At this point, it is perhaps timely to recall what Thomas Mann said at the farewell banquet given in his

CONTINUED ON NEXT FACE

MANN CONTINUE

honor that day in Weimar. He spoke of "a new era [that] had confronted him here [in Eastern Germany], a vision of the future." He was not greeted, he said, as an old fogey, but as one who could help build a new world. "If that should happen," Mann added, "if actually I could, through my work, contribute something to the New [Order] I would be most happy in this environment."

'A PURE FLAME'

In his panegyrical tribute to Becher-the same Becher who did not blush when he wrote, "How happy must be the letter 'i,' as it is permitted to form a letter in the name of Stalin" - Thomas Mann seems definitely to have lost all sense of decency. He has sunk to a new low when he praises the "unselfishness, pure and absorbing as a flame," of a man who, not so long ago, publicly declared that the Soviet concentration camps in Eastern Germany are "a necessary establishment." When Mann, "in comrade-like high esteem" for Becher, whose Communism "has positively patriotic color," remarks that "one has only to read his poems" to understand him fully-this writer. surprisingly, is ready to agree. Here, for example, is a typical poem of Becher's that ought to enable anyone to understand him. Taken from Neue Deutsche Volkslieder, Aufbau-Verlag. Berlin, 1950. it is entitled Hymn to the Soviet Union:

You are the citadel of humanity
In the storm of barbarism!
You are the world's best,
For your people became free...
To read Stalin's look,
We seek his face,
As if it were a being,
That daily speaks to us.
You are in our midst,
And your spirit breathes through
us.
It is your steps that announce

The road toward which Lenin

points.

You gave battle, the holy battle of freedom

To the hordes of the enemy.

The world is newly arisen

In the victory of the Soviet power.

Thomas Mann may say that it is unfair to judge Becher by one poem. Well, let's have another, also written last year, on the occasion of the third convention of the Red Socialist Unity party (SED) of East Germany. It is a cantata entitled Party, You Are Peace on Earth, which reads in part:

"Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin—you four,

The truth owes you power and honor...

Hail to you, Party!
On, let's sing a song!
Because immortal it is....
Everything we are

We thank you for!
You, comrades, indefatigably
You are building a world of
peace.

Let's gain power! Give the people power!

Party, you are peace on earth!
When the clouds rise high.
When dark powers menace the world.

You, Party, you are the light! Look to the East for victory. In the dawn, What a glow!

Thomas Mann's outburst extolling the notorious Stalinist agent Becher is beneficial to at least this extent: It explodes, once and for all, the great myth of Mann as a "loyal fighter for democracy" and opponent of totalitarianism.

MANN IN 1925: WHAT HAPPENED?

Thomas Mann has not always been an apologist for the Soviet regime and its stooges. Twenty-six years ago, he raised his voice eloquently against the greatest of all the Kremlin's crimes, its inhuman treatment of political opponents. Here is what he wrote, in 1925, in a letter to the International Committee for Political Prisoners, headed by Roger Baldwin:

"I Poschlingerstrasse Munich, Germany February 25, 1925

"DEAR SIR:

"I am extremely obliged to you for sending me the Letters from Bolshevist Prison and Exile.' I have studied the collection, and the impression the letters made on me has been so much the more terrible because they were so undoubtedly genuine. You do not wish to have any intrusion of politics in the matter; no more do I. But the question presents itself, and will invariably be asked, what has really changed in Russia for the better or even changed at all as compared to former times, since the founding of this atheistic God-State which is called Communism? I read that in one of these martyr abodes, where these letters were written, and which was formerly a church, they have removed all the religious images and symbols, and have put in their place the pictures of Lenin, Trotsky and Marx. I don't know how Lenin and Trotsky feel about this proceeding, but I am sure Karl Marx would turn in his grave if news from the world of these letters should force its way to him. I wish you every success in your humanitarian enterprise aimed at softening the inhumanity which the Russian Government practices or believes must be tolerated in order that it may itself survive, and I gladly authorize you to make every use of these lines which you may consider necessary. "Yours Sincerely,

(Published in Letters from Russian Prisons, Boni, N. Y., 1925, pp. 11-12)

"THOMAS MANN."

in mind was the creation of exactly such means as would enable us to defend ourselves against a totalitarian on-slaught. In short, they said to themselves: "The 'clear and present danger' theory produced fatal results in Russia, Italy and Germany. We are determined to avoid the fates of those countries." And so, in effect, they modified the "clear and present danger" theory, which was to have been applied to a clearcut condition of active war or active revolution, to read: "The shadow of the future danger is clear and present today."

As long as our legislators and prosecutors adhere rigidly to the Smith Act, which is a modification of the Holmes rule, liberty will not be sacrificed. The key words to note, as we suggested earlier, are "force and violence." The Act does not forbid the advocacy of change in our society, or in our government, provided such advocacy stresses the use of peaceful and democratic means. Thus, under the Act, the Editors of The New Leader—or even those of the Daily Worker—may propose reform or (peaceful) revolution that will radically alter our society.

One of the most disturbing features about the Act, and the Supreme Court's upholding of it, is that, practically speaking, it does not dispose of the Communist conspiracy. As this journal has repeatedly pointed out, and as FBI Director Hoover has often declared, the real conspirators do not belong to the open Communist party but are underground. Hence, the incarceration of the eleven Communist leaders in jail cannot disturb the continuity of the activities of the real, or underground, party. Moreover, it is probably already a fact that the open party itself has appointed eleven other Communists to take the places of those convicted, but they, like the spies and the agents long since underground, will henceforth operate under cover and will therefore be beyond the arm of the Smith Act. And if, as practical logic would now dictate, the entire Communist movement is driven from legality as a result of the Supreme Court's decision, this would only infest the atmosphere with new suspicion and distrust attendant upon the submergence beneath our society of large numbers of people. All this does not mean that anyone need feel the slightest regret at the Communists going to prison; traitorous activities on behalf of a foreign nation merit that penalty at least. But the question now is, "Do we next outlaw the Communist party?"

THE New Leader is disturbed by the decision of the Supreme Court majority, but finds it difficult to suggest what alternative action it could have taken under the circumstances. It simply gets down to this, as it always does: The business of preserving liberty is, in the last analysis, the primary business of the people itself; therefore, the ultimate effects of the Court's action will be determined not by the robed justices who rendered it, but by the steps all democratic-minded citizens take to resist such abridgments of freedom as would really impinge upon honest, peaceful and democratic movements toward social, economic or political change.

the new Leader

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VOLUME XXXIV, NUMBER 25

Signed contributions on these pages do not necessarily represent the views of THE NEW LEADER. We welcome a variety of opinions consistent with our democratic policy.

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Iffice Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Director, FBI

DATE: September 18, 1951

SAC, New York

SUBJECT:

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Dates

January 22, 1952

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From

Legal Attache London, England (100-415)

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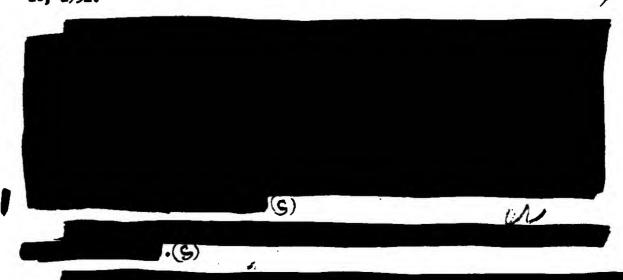
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Heidelberg, Germany, dated November



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Liaison Office Heidelberg, Germany

Date:

February 15, 1952

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To:

Director, FBI

From:

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Dates

March 21, 1952

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Director, FBI

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London, England

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Rederal Bureau of Investigation

Mashington, D. C.

Liaison Office Heidelberg, Germany



Date:

April 5, 1952

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John Edgar Hoover, Director Federal Bureau of Investigation

G.I.R.-6

Subject:

THOMAS MANN SECURITY MATTER - C

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Heidelberg, Germany

VIA ARMY COURIER

Date:

July 9, 1954

To:

Director, FBI

From:

Liaison Representative, Heidelberg (100-0)

Subject:

THOMAS MANN

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G. I. R. -9

The following data, which is furnished for the Bureau's information, was extracted from a 66th CIC Group report dated May 28, 1954, which was made available by the Counter-Intelligence Branch of G-2, Hd., USAREUR. This information is classified "Confidential" by CIC. (*)(u)

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: December 2, 1954

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REGISTERE

SUBJECT: THOMAS MANN

of Seattle, Washington, for many years has been compiling information for the Subversive Detail of the Seattle Police Department, for the American Legion, and for other groups and individuals in this area and elsewhere. She maintains rather voluminous files of clippings, reports, and other more or less public documents dealing with security matters. From these records she compiles lists of citations, newspaper articles, and the like which contain information she considers adverse from a security viewpoint.

made available to this office the attached compilation of such references regarding THOMAS MANN. This reference list is being forwarded to the Bureau for such value as it might have.

Enclosure REGISTERED FOIPA 237446

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Director, PBI

DATE: 1/11/55

VIA ARMY COURIER

AL POM

Liaison Representative Heidelberg, Germany (100-0-473)

SUBJECT:

THOMAS MANN IS - C

Spear

According to [G-2, Headquarters, USAREUR, the East German radio, on January 4, 1955 announced that THOMAS MANN would attend the Schiller Festival on May 9, 1955. This festival will be held in Eastern Germany, probably at Weimar J

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fice Memorandum • United States Government

TO

VIA ARMY COURIER

DATE: 3/28/55

Liaison Representative Heidelberg, Germany (100-0-473)

SUBJECT :

THOMAS MANN

Remylet 1/11/55. 47 - 388 340 - 5,

The 3/23/55 issue of the "Berliner Zeitung" (East Berlin newspaper) carried an article on the coming celebration of the 150th anniversary of the death of the German writer SCHILLER to be held in Weimar, Germany (Soviet Zone) beginning 5/8/55. It was announced therein that THOMAS MANN would take part in the ceremonies and would give a speech at 11:00 a.m. 5/14/55. He will be introduced by JOHANNES BECHER, East Germany Minister of Culture.

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Director, FRI

May 26, 1959

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Thomas Mann Calls ERP Bribe for Anti-Soviet V

LOS ANGELES, June 1 of the world's great novelists, Sanday called the Marshall Plate lo stries to abandon socialism and fi Russia. He also warned that the he verge of becoming a police state. He spoke at the Hollywood Ark Sciences and Professions Council

conference of peace at the loc Masonic Temple.

of paying off European countries to ing to sponsor fascism the world abandon socialism and arm them weer." for possible war with Russia." Mann declared neutres awar nor the present 'cold war' a cessity. It is unavoidable only it ao." Mann declared "neither fighting a In addition to Mann, who was in addition to Mann, who was Coast honorary co-character to con legal aspects of the along with Dr. Frits Went divided to the conference of the conference of the conference of the coast three-day conference of the coast three distinguished and pltimate bankruptcy of the coast three distinguished and pltimate bankruptcy of the coast three distinguished the coast three coa

These included Dr. Philip rison, professor of nuclear property at the partial at Cornell University; Roberts 1 at parting those who he was have ander, head of the Los Agree minimized the danger of the legplanning commission; Millard Lander better by saying it is merely a bill pell, author; Albert Maltz and the communists to register ward Dmytryk, two of the mailed. pell, author; Albert Maltz and ward Dmytryk, two of the sailled

Rosevelt and regrets that thing is being done these beattle and besmirch his mile

Germany. Out of this further than sweeping the nation. If we come the Mundt-Nixon bill the present persecution of the pers

Communists has one aim-to prog to recede." pare the nation for war with

CLOSE TO POLICE STATE

Warning that the U. S. today is "dangerously close to a police state," Mann said that o'the tendency is shown circulated for monopoly capitalism to take cover behind fascisos. Trus can lead only to further violations of our civil rights."

"The Marshall plan is a means tige among nations" by "continu-

Mann participated in the peace

Wood "10."

Resembly There is nothing 'mere' about

Mann's opening remarks the last peristration," Kenny said. "If

high tributes to the late principle sector gister, you also make out a

Ro sevelt and regrets that "The said grainst yourself as a foreign

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This is a clipping from of the Daily Workers:

Date_ Clipped at the Seat of Government.

pointed a five-man board to investigate the state's crime-particularly any links between the cops and the robbers. A New York City judge recently figured the graft was

running in the millions.

In Oklahoma City, Earl L. Foote will shortly find out whether he'll be prosecuted because he refused medical aid to his dying son on grounds "The good Lord will take care of him."

Philadelphia police, helped by Army investigators, arrested 10 men and are looking for 18 others, all members of . lourishing idope ring.

Suspects
Thomas Mann's Reply

Novelist Thomas Mann, criticized because he Jent his name to rogahizations allegedly Red, said he was not a Communist, not a fellow traveler, is opposed "to all kinds of totalitarianism" and didn't "knowingly" join any Communist from organization.

Because a man signed the Stockholm Peace Pledge, his union complained he must be a Red, that his signing made other employes uneasy, and suggested he be fired. He was. The National Labor Relations Board said this was perfectl yall right.

Convicts

A Murderer Sues

MILTON BABICH, serving a life term for the murder of his wife's sister in Milwaukee two years ago, now is suing the five policemen who handled his case for \$500,000, charging they arrested him without a warrant, held him flegally, and forced him into an illegal confession.

"I forgive you mother, for wi.at you tried to do," said 20 year-old Kenneth Madden, whose mother tried to shoot him in his California iail cell to prevent his "De-

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MAR 30 1951

MANN AGAIN DENIES HE IS A COMMUNIST

Bays Article by an Accuser Appeared After He Quit Peace Crusade Group

Thomas Mann denied yesterday he is or ever has been a Communist. He also said he is not, and never could be, a fellow-traveler, "as long as the destination is totalitarianism."

The German-born novelist, now an American citizen, made his denial in a statement given to Aufbau, a German-American weekly published here.

Mr. Mann specifically denied charges of Communist front activities contained in an article by Eugene Tillinger published in The Freeman, a weekly magazine, on March 26.

"Mr. Tillinger did not know on March 26," Mr. Mann wrote, "that on Feb. 12 I had publicly resigned from the American Peace Crusade, to which I belonged for a few days. Thus one of my most incriminating 'Communist front activities' consists in holding on to a group which lists a great many good and liberal Americans among its members in addition to a few allegedly Communist sponsors."

The novelist protested against being charged by Mr. Tillinger with two instances of untruthfulness in previous denials of specific charges of front activities.

In the first instance, Mr. Mannyesterday repeated previous denials that he had signed his name to last year's Stockholm Peace Appeal, despite The Freeman's publication of a photostatic reproduction of a French version of the document with his signature. The Stockholm Peace Appeal has been denounced by the State Department as a Communist propagands trick

100.388240-A

APR 28 1951

File: re: Thomas Lann

62 MAY 5 1951

peated denials of having taken part in the Soviet-sponsored Second Congress for World Peace "in any way or sense whatever." Referring to a clipping from "L'Humanite," French Communist publication, which quoted parts of a private letter from Mr. Mann to Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie, French Communist, and which was mentioned by Mr. Tillinger, Mr. Mann said these excerpts were "misleading" and designed mere to "soft-sen" his refusal to take part.

en" his refusal to take part.

"As for this country," Mr. Mann added, "to become a citizen of which has made me proud and happy, the hysterical, irrational and blind hatred of Communism is far more harmful to it than American Communism itself. The persecution mania and folly in which it seems to have lapsed and which apparently is engulfing it, can never do any good; on the contrary, it will lead to disaster unless the United States changes its gnental attitude at once."

Says He Possesses Originals

Replying to Mr. Mann's statement, Mr. Tillinger said:

"Every word I wrote came from ariginal sources in interviews and statements by Thomas Mann in European papers and I have the eriginals in my possession. The photostatic reproduction of his signature was taken from an illustrated article published by The Daily Worker, the New York Communist publication, on May 30, 1950. This was also published in the French Communist press, but Mr. Mann did not deny it at that time."

Miss Suzanne La Follette, managing editor of The Freeman, said the magazine was backing up Mr. Tillinger and was satisfied both with his material and the way he had used it

had used it.
"Mr. Tillinger did not say Mr.
Jann was a Communist or that he
bk part in the Second Congress
Arr World Peace, ahe added. "He
used only part of the available material on front activities."

"I have before me a clipping from Les Lettres Francaises' of May 18, 1950, showing that when he was asked why he had signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal, Mr. Mann replied: I signed the Stockholm Appeal because I support every movement that has as its aim to aid the page?"

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t fascists; war trends!

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 1 Famed Novelist Thomas Mann today called for "a halt -NOW!" to fascism and war as exemplified in the case of the "Los Angeles 10" jailed for upholding civil liberties before the federal grand jury.

In a statement to the Rev. Stenhan R. Fritchmann of the First Unitarian Church, Mann mid:

"The case of the Los Angeles 16 is but one symptom if a very outstanding and a particularly shocking one — ot the incipient decline of legal seburity which we have of short



DR. THOMAS MANN

been witnessing in this coun-

"Let no one think that any such injustice may be done with impunity. Whenever the constitutional rights of any one individual are being violated, albeit in the name of a state of emergency' alleged by the violators, it is the entire nation who suffers.

"Perhaps the American people are not yet fully aware of the appaling significance of occurrences such as this. They have never known, never experienced, fascism, and may not recognize its maturing features in what is happening here.

"As an American citizen of

German birth and one who h been through it all, I deem at not only my right, but my solemn duty to state:

"We . . . the America of the un-American activities committee; the America of the socalled loyalty checks; the America of Judge Peirson Hall's court . . . are well on our way toward the fascist police state and . . . hence . . . well on our way toward war.

"And war today would me mothing short of our plane's atomic suicide.

"Let's call a halt while there is still time. Let's call a halt-NOW!"

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This is a clipping from 3 of the page

People World for

MAR 18 1958

Clipped at the Seat of Government

Books of the Times

By ORVILLE PRESCOTT

N the jacket of "Essays of Three Decades," by Thomas Minn, there is a photograph of the author sitting on a rustic bench. Dressed in a neat white suit and spotless white shoes, with a white straw hat beside him and a large, black, curly-haired dog at his feet, he starss meditatively and sadly in front of him. Although the picture shows an obviously intelligent and

Thomas Mann

sensitive man, could just as well portray a musician, an economist or a mathematician as Germany's greatest modern writer. There is no doubt of Mr. Mann's claim to that rank. No matter how sharply opinions may differ about his monumental and murky "Joseph" series, "Budden-brooks," "The Magic Mountain" and the wonderful novelettes will siways make good their author's pre-eminence emong his literary compatriots.

But, in addition to his masterpieces, Mr. Mana has written literary essays for much of his life. The present volume contains sixteen selected from his total output. Seven, including the most important, have been published in English in earlier books; the rest are now published in English in book form for the first time. Many of their were delivered originally as public addresses and all are as interesting for the light they throw upon Mr. Mann as for what they say about their various subjects.

When Thomas Mann writes about Goeth, Toistoy, Wagner, Schopenhauer or Freud he assumes that his readers are intimately acquainted with their lives and works. It is not his intention to supply the assential information that all worshipers of Goethe, all perfect Wagnerites and all practicing psychiatrists can be presumed to possess. He also writes with a formidable erudition close to pedantry, with an academic vocabulary and a ponderous and turgid style of marvelous complexity. How much of the foggy quality of his prose is traditional with German literary criticism and how much is caused by a stiff and too literal translation it is impossible to guess.

He Thinks in Abstractions

But I suspect that Mr. Mann is himself largely to blame. He thinks in abstractions, uses such opaque phrases as "soul-economy" and "soul-affinity" and always expresses himself with magisterial stateliness and desperate solemnity. It is probably impossible to put his thoughts into graceful and idiomatic English. But, if Mr. Mann is Teutonically heavy in manner, he also is so sensitive and penetrating a critic that he is fre-

BRAYS OF THREE DECADES. By Thomas Spins. Francisted by H. S. Loros-Porter, 412 pages. Enopf. 84. Tile

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DATE 8.7.1.87. BY SET MOGGET

Mr. Toloon
Mr. R. A. Tumm
Mr. Clogg
Mr. Clevis
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nicholo
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egun
Mr. Guraco
Mr. Barbo
Mr. Marbo
Mr. Marbo
Mr. Marbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Neoco

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This is a clipping from
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New York Times for

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63 JUL 3 1947 MAR 1 8 1958 quently illuminating. Sometimes he is almost mystical in his intuitive groping for significant truths about his fellow creative artists. It almost as if he feels a kinship with genius that is quite beyond the range of most critics.

Not that most of these essays are ever blindingly clear. Too many words and too many confusingly vague cultural concepts have to be pushed out of the way before the meaning is found for that. But after the underbrush cleared one can see that Mr. Mann has been preoccupied with a consideration of one major theme, the genius as creative artist. The genius, whether he is a writer like Goethe or Tolstoy, a composer like Wagner or a scientific revolutionist like Freud, does not function purely on the intellectual level, according to Mr. Mann. He is distinguished by more than just unusual mental powers. He is conspicuous for animal magnetism, for instinctive and emotional drives of extraordinary power and for a primitive affinity with all mankind and the myths of ancient man. If this seems a barely tanable hypothesis while discussing Goethe and Tolstoy, one wonders how Mr. Mann could apply it to such geniuses as Newton and Einstein and Shakespeare, who hardly can be considered primitive in any respect.

More Than Mere Sketches

These essays are never biographical aketches or just literary evaluations. They all are interpretations of the symbolical meaning, the significance of the life and achievement of the particular artist. To arrive at such meanings Mr. Mannificles all around Robin Hood's barn and speculates on nature, culture, aristocracy, disease as a mental and spiritual asset, myths, pagan, primitive and Christian philosophies, the bourgeois age now closing and the peculiar problems of the artist.

The difficulty of keeping up with him depends on the degree of your familiarity with the subject. Those who have read Tolstoy and who come freah from Ernest Simmons' massive biography should find Mr. Mann's chapters on Tolstoy interesting and profound. But those who have not read any Schopenhauer since Philosophy 1—2 in sophomore year will not be much the wiser for reading Mr. Mann's introduction to the philosopher of will and idea. Lovers of Wagner should be stimulated and enlightened by Mr. Mann's lyrical raptures in praise and interpretation of the great musical dramas, that is if they love Wagner enough to concentrate on Mr. Mann's somewhat cryptic key to him.

Four of the essays in this collection concern Goethe. Americans who wear a respectful expression when they hear Goethe's name, but who otherwise have only a nodding acquaintance with him (of whom I am one), should still be impressed by the loving devotion, the psychological insight and the meticulous scholarship that Mr. Mann has lavished upon him. Remembering that Mr. Mann is also the author of a novel about Goethe, "The Beloved Returns," one wonders why he has never written Goethe's biography. It seems an ideal combination of subject and biographer, the greatest of all German-writers and the great modern German writer who knows him so well and loves him so dearly.

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ALL THEORMATION CONTAINED

Mann analyzes German concepts

LOS ANGELES - "The German concept of liberty was always directed outward; it meant the right to be German, only German, and othing else beyond that," Thomas Mann, Nobel Prize novelist and a new citizen of America, told school executives and students assembled at a conference held by the University's current summer session to discuss educational ramifications of the San Francisco Conference.

The German idea of liberty was one of self - centered defense against everything that, tended to limit and restrict egotism, to tame it and to direct its service to the world community. This German concept of liberty behaved internally with an aston-ishing degree of lack of freedom. It was a militant slave mentality, and National Socialism went so far in its exaggeration of this incongruity between the external and internal desire for liberty as to think of world enslavement by a people who were themselves enslaved at .home," Mann de-

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THOMAS MANN, AMERICAN

Thomas Mann, Nobel Prize winner, world figure in literature and heroic fighter for democracy, is a part of that softy and intangible payment of reparations which this country began to preceive from Germany even before the war. The honor paid him at the Nation Associates' dinner in this city on Monday evening will be widely applauded. At seventy he is an American citizen. If he is proud to say "we" when he speaks of this nation, as he did Monday evening, millions of his new countrymen are also proud that he can do so. He is welcome here as a combatant for a more perfect democncy and as a person of faith who holds that America will go forward in the

om.

It cannot have been easy for him to be an exile, and in middle age leave behind the country where he was born, grew to manhood and had his first recognition. Let an American try to imagine the situations reversed, America in chains and Germany free. But Thomas Mann knew well where freedom lay, had the courage to make his choice and gave his full allegiance to this new land. He now has the comfort of knowing that his voice, now the voice of an American, can again be beard in Germany.

Kr. Tolson Mr. F. A. Tamm Mr. Clegg Mr. Coffey Mr. Ladd Mr. Nichols Mr. Rosen Mr. Carson .. Mr. Hendon . . . Mr. Pennington

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ANTI-RUSSIAN TALK **ASSAILED BY ICKES**

Why Should U. S. Want to Fight Recent Ally, He Asks at Dinner to Mann

AUTHOR WARNS OF POWER

It is Easily Used Selfishly, He Says—Frankfurter Among Others Paying Tribute

Secretary of the Interior Harold L.Ackes, speaking ast night at a miner to Thoma Mann, Nobel prize winner in literature, assailed those who conduct a "whispering campaign" against Russia designed to make us "suspicious and nervous." Asking why we should prepare to fight our recent ally, he declared that Russia's paramount meed was for peace and that she had no reason for war with the United States.

Sponsored by the Nation Associates, the dinner was held in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-As-toria Hotel to mark the seventleth birthday on June 6 of Dr. Mann, who found a haven here from Nazi oppression.

Chairman of the dinner commit-tee was Robert EAsherwood, play-wright and overseas director of the wright and overseas director of the Office of War Information, and other speakers included Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, Dr. Mann, Dr. Juanotegrin, Frank Edinister of Spain's last Republican government; William Lastirer, foreign correspondent and commentator, and Freds Kirchwey, editor of The Nation.

Russia Called Vital to Peace

Referring to Russia as "that great nation, without whose cooperation there can be no peace," Mr.

Ickes declared:

"What Russia needs more than anything else in the world m peace, a peace that would allow her time to develop her enormous resources, to build up her ravaged industry and to restore her dev-astated lands."

The whisperers in the campaign to "stir up suspicions and foment Year and hate" of Russia, Mr. cear and hate" of Russia, Mr. Ickes asserted, were the same pseudo-patriots who before the war "went up and down the land Lindberghing that Hitler not only had no felonious designs upon us the land had such intentions."

He acknowledged that in the HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED porking out of the terms of world eace, we will have honest difworking out of the terms of world peace, "we will have honest differences of opinion with Russia, as well as with other countries," but declared that would be no difficulties that could not be overcome by "patience and understanding and by adhering at all times to the principle of that great utterance embodied in the Sermon on the Mount, Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto

Mr. Ickes said there were those among us who were bent on preventing the peace from being more than a short-lived armistice, but that instead of openly avowing their purpose they posed as "pa-triots undefiled."

"They love America so tena-ciously," he said, "that they cannot find any other country that is fit to associate with America, even in the interest of a peace that can-not be forged or endure except upon the basis of association and mutuality.'

Mr. Ickes said the "first and reatest task" confronting us in the making of a lasting peace was the punishment of those responsifor the bestiality which befound the whole of Europe for so long." But this, he declared, should not blind us to the fact that even the Germans were deserving of our

"Cold and hunger will stalk through western Europe this fall and winter," he warned. "Unless we move quickly and vigorously a million or more people may be ex-pected to die of privation in Switzerland, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Scandinavia and Italy the coming winter."

Mann Eulogizes Roosevelt

Bespeaking his gratitude and love for the late President Roosevelt, "that great statesman whom we mourn and whom we shall never cease to mourn," Dr. Mann said he was turning his adress of thanks into a tribute "to him who for all of us incarnated the hopes of mandau in a great person-

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America today, as the prepon-derant world power with russia. stands at the crossroads, Dr. Mann declared.

Mr. Quinn Tamm

"Let us not evade this fact," he said. "Such an immense military potential always involves a great danger and a great temptation. It can e used in the old selfish spirit of economic exploitatio nand op-pression, that is to say, in the spirit of imperialism—or it can be conceived as a mandate to leadership and to the service of the common cause of mankind."

Dr. Mann envisaged defeat for representatives of the "old order," those who, he said, were attempting to frustrate America's "hu-manitarian leadership," and saw ultimate victory for those who desire to go forward in the "development and fulfilment" of democ-

Expressing pride in his recently acquired citizenship, Dr. Mann said:

"I am no longer a guest in this country, I am one of its citizens. I say 'we' when I speak of America, and I say it with pride. I suffer when 'we' occasionally create the appearance that we want at bot-tom to preserve the fascism that we have defeated—as a bulwark against the imminent socialization of democracy, of which we are afraid. I know that such an appearance is not according to the will of the American people, the nation of Roosevelt; it does not wish to retrogress from democracy, but to go forward in its development and fulfillment. And as this people fulfillment. And as this people wills, so will it be."

Justice Frankfurter declared that Dr. Mann symbolized events

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and principles "that new headly fail to remain forever among the great stories in the destiny of man." He argued for the inseparability of art and politics, stating his view that "for artists to be unpolitical is to surrender to those who reject the rights of free inquiry and of the free play of the mind, the determination of the direction of society."

On the subject of Americanism. Justice Frankfurter and President Roosevelt's reminder that "we are all immigrants" was not the least part of the heritage he left.

"There are humorous folk," he said, "who are under the delusion that, merely because some of these immigrants came to these shores on earlier ships, their descendants have superior virtues.

"To make Americanism turn on blood instead of on completeneas of devotion to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Second Inaugural, and the Four Freedoms, is to come dangerously near the abyss into which Inazism finally fell. To differentiate between Mayflower descendants and the Sidney Hillmans, Charlie Polettis, the Commander Stassens, the Al Smiths, the Booker Washingtons, the Wendell Willkies is to sap the most precious force in the American fellowship—regard not for the accidents of birth, but the inherent moral worth of the individual.

the individual.

"The essence of the democratic faith is the equal claim of every man to pursue his facilities to the humanly fullest—for his sake, but no less for the sake of society. For nature is the greatest of democrats. She endows men with the noblest gifts, heedless of generalogy. Greatness always remains a mystery—but what is more fitting than that Lincoln should gradually but securely have become the uncontested symbol of America."

Negrin Assails Snobbery

Dr. Negrin paid tribute to Dr. Mann as "a great symbol in the fight against snobbery and noxious prejudices, in the struggle to preserve the higher values of our civilization, which have never been so traduced in the course of history as they have been, and I may say still are."

Citing the need for leaders with character and wisdom in what he said was one of the most difficult periods of mankind, Dr. Negrin warned that "against the poison of totalitarian agression no country is immune; the trend to domination and jingoistic chauvinism is not exclusive to any race or nation."

Dr. Negrin recalled his plea to President Roosevelt when the Spanish Loyalists were "in a desperate battle not only against the vicious power of their enemies, later your own foes, but fettered and asphyxiated by the pretended neutral and officially friendly countries."

The "light" he hoped for, Dr. Negrin said, did not come in time for Spain, but "it came later in time to save the whole world."

Mr. Sherwood, referring to Dr. Mann as "this eminent citizen of the world," said that before the first Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931 "there was hardly a writer in this world who did not owe a profound debt of gratitude to Thomas Mann."

He urged that the nation look forward to new horizons "rather than backward toward old rubble," and advocated that we "continue to be heavily armed for as long in the future as may be necessary"

the future as may be necessary."

"But physical power," Mr. Sher-wood cautioned, "however vast, will be as unsubstantial as was the Maginot Line unless it is the instrument of people who have the capacity for spiritual greatness and the will to use that greatness forever in the cause of justice and peace."

Mann Sees Hope for Germany In Postwar Society of Peoples

Self-Exiled Novelist Gives Preview of Tonight's Lecture

Thomas Mann, self-exiled Ger nan novelist, yesterday spoke feelingly and in typically cadenced ones of the future of his native and as he gave a brief preview of his lecture at 8:15 tonight at the Library of Congress on "The War and the Future."

Dr. Mann, whose famed prose will be seen next in his most recent work, the final book of the "Joseph" trilogy, enjoyed a large after-duncheon cigar as he predicted that postwar Germany can return again so its old form of "spiritual universalism" to join the new society of Deoples.

"One must hope that Germany will find its way back to the old, real Germany," Br. Mann declared as he recalled the homeland he ofice know and loved, "The whole experiment of world conquest is a disturbed expression of old Germin universalism, corrupted by Dower politics.

World Mult Defend Itself

"When universalism becomes a matter of power politics, then the world must rise and defend itself, But Germany can recover again to e able mentally to join a new society of peoples. Unless she is won wer to this idea, it will be difficult to keep peace in future years.

Asked if he felt that Nazi-trained ouths are too thoroughly indoctrinated with German ideals to accept other forms of government, he replied that "the uprising of stuents and professors recently in Munich against national socialism hows that they are not corrupted."

Concerning Italy, where he has raveled and studied extensively, Dr. Mann said: "The problem of italy after the war is even easier than that of Germany, Italians are too politically intelligent to be eal Fascists."

Principal Choice

The most fundamental question



DR. THOMAS MANN

choice between becoming a republie or a kingdom.

Although the newest book of the "Joseph" series will not appear in this country until January because of production and manufacturing difficulties, copies already are in circulation in Sweden. Translations must go to Switzer-land by airplane, two or three pages at a time, for binding, and Dr. Mann himself has no idea how they are transported across occupied territory.

He has completed about 100 pages of his newest novel, in which he is dealing for the first time with music despite its strong influence on his past work. Thus far he has chosen no title, but he confides that it is the life story of a musician, with scenes in a small German city, then Munich, then Bavaria.

Dr. Mann said the book probably will take another year and a half

to complete.
"I find it advisable to interrupt The most fundamental question he observed. "I always need a long time."



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Times -

March of Events

Tugwell Seeks Fountain of Youth—Military
Mobilization of Colleges Causes Professorial
Yowl—Thomas Mann Develops Mentally

By BENJAMIN DECASSERES

THOMAS MANN, the German hovelist and essayist, now living in the United States, is out for the "MERICANIZA". TION" of the world. He also gives, our founding fathers a pretty little pat on the back. This is real progress, for it was not so long ago that Mr. Mann was allvocating "social democracy," which is a form of respectable communism very far removed from "Americanization" and the ideas of the founding fathers.

But it is with joy that I record the milestones on the road to "Americanisation" that Pilgrim Mann has taken. It was not so long ago that he was pro-Russian, stating that "it (Communist Russia) constitutes a reinforcement of democracy." Then he conjuctived his mission to be this:

"I am a man who regards it as his task in life to advance the German heritage." After that he went strong for Julius Caesar, describing this epileptic all-out butcher of European peoples as "the champion of civilization, the genius and pattern of an imperious and exalted civilization." But all that is I hope, behind Thomas Mann new. He has come home to the founding fathers, who were no more like Caesar, Lenin, and "the German heritage" than Mr. Mann's style is like Bob Benchley's.

But, still, Mr. Mann cannot throw off entirely his Germanic-Boviet-Messianic pattern, for me United States Americans have no desire to "Americanise the sould." We are going to have a colossal postwar job of ref Americanizing the U. S. A. We shall leave the task of "Americanizing the world" to the Tux-canding the world washington and their fellow numbrians.

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By Thomas Mann Germany Must & Atope for Crimes

Thomas Mann, Germany's greatest living author and Nobel Prize winner, is among those writers solose books were burned by the Nazis. He was entirely non-political until Hitler came into power. In 1933 after the burning of the Reichstag he left his Munich home and moved into voluntary exile in Suitzerland. Since then he has been a valiant fighter for democracy. In 1938 he spoke in a dozen large American cities on "The Coming Victory for Democracy." He is now a self-exile in the United States and has applied for American citizenship. His most famous works include "The Magic Mountain," the Buddenbrooks" and the "Joseph" series.

In the event of the by no means as yet assured defeat of the Nazi system, the sharpest and most dangerous political and military weapon ever forged—in this hoped for event the by far most desirable development would be a true and thorough German revolution that would ruthlessly do away with those groups who were the bearers of the nationalist idea of race superiority and world conquest. Such cleansing from within would the preferable to any project of educating Germany from without and to make her a queful member of the future society of mations.

This would greatly facilitate it to the world to regain confidence in the German people despite all that has happened. Under no circumstances, however, can the German people expect that they will be received by the world with open arms immediately after this war. They will have to pass through hard decades of tribulation and atonement and will be forced to make up for what they have done—to the extent that this is possible—by labor of reconstruction.



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